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THE WORKING CLASS & THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

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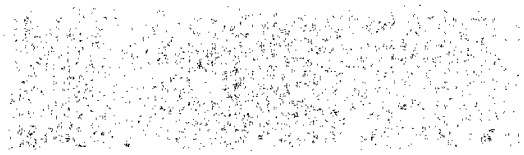

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SOVIET UNION

THE WORKING CLASS & THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

No 2, March-April 1987

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Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 (signed to press 3 March 87) p 192

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'SOLIDARITY', POLISH WORKERS' STATUS, DESIRE FOR REFORM LINKED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 (signed to press 3 Mar 87) pp 24-32

[Article by L. Gilejko (Poland): "Role of the Working Class in Present-Day Poland"]

[Text] The Working Class as a Subject of Political Life

In all socialist countries at comparable levels of development the workers are the most populous social group. This applies to Poland also--workers, including the members of their families, form the most populous stratum of society. Thus the revolution and subsequent socioeconomic development brought the working class, which had played the part of revolutionary minority, to the leading place in the overall masses of working people. Socialism thereby acquired a broad and strong social base, which not only provides for the possibility of its dynamic development but also permits the increasingly full realization of socialist principles. The narrowness of the social base of socialism connected with the preponderance of petty bourgeois strata which was the case in the past is being overcome, but its lasting rudiments are still being perceived as a brake on development and a factor contributing to the emergence of conflicts.

In the course of the debate on the reasons for the socioeconomic crisis in Poland it was pointed out that a factor of the most general nature were the contradictions between the productive forces and production relations--the superstructure. The productive forces, whose development had at that time begun to decelerate, represent not only the technology and methods of production called the material productive forces. They also include, in accordance with Marxist theory, people, their skills, ability to work and so forth. The 1970's, when the causes of the crisis emerged directly, were distinguished not only by a growth of negative phenomena but also appreciable changes in the social sphere. Among the most important of these were changes in the key social strata, primarily in the working class. It had not only become the most populous social group in Poland but was also subject to very serious internal changes. This was reflected in the decisions of the Ninth Special PZPR Congress, which was held under the specific conditions of July 1981, when the social conflict was increasingly assuming the nature of political struggle. The decisions of the congress said, in part: "...as a

result of the 37 years of the development of People's Poland a new society has taken shape in our country, primarily a qualitatively new working class possessing considerable erudition in the field of technology and social development. An aspiration to participate in the management of production and the country, an aspiration which has grown in the soil of socialist ideology, has formed in this new and young working class. This tremendous potential has not been used to a considerable extent owing to an inefficient system of management and the inadequate organization of labor. Nor has it been employed in the political plane as a result of the ossification of social and political organizations, which have been constrained to imitate reality and play safe. Institutions of the political system not only have not enlisted the citizens in participation in social life but have sometimes impeded it even" (1).

The new generation of workers, which exerted an appreciable influence on the change in the structure of the working class, came of professionally active age precisely in the 1970's. The stratum of workers of the 20-30 age group became the most populous in the working class. Changes in the workers' level of skills and general education were occurring in parallel. These processes were impeded by the effect of a number of factors, which hampered realization of the workers' aspirations. Among these were an inefficient management system, inadequate organization of labor and the ossification and disparagement of the role of social organizations, whose activity was frequently of an exclusively ornamental nature.

All this was occurring against the background of the increased role of the unions and the working people's participation in enterprise management in other socialist countries. In other words, the possibilities of an enhancement of the role of the working class had been blocked, which could not have failed to have evoked sharp criticism, which ultimately developed into the worker protest of August 1980. Of course, there were other reasons for it also, but this factor was of particular significance. The workers put forward demands which raised not only economic problems but which were also aimed at the defense of the principles of socialism, which had been openly violated. More often than not it was a question of violations of the principles of social justice and the undermining of the dignity of labor. Mention was also made of the need for the creation of institutional possibilities for representation of the interests of the working class in parallel with criticism of the situation in this sphere in the past. There naturally ensued from these demands a criticism of the former leadership of the PZPR and the unions and also mass support for new initiatives, among which was the formation of Solidarity. As studies conducted in 1982 by the Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism Institute showed, while supporting Solidarity primarily as a labor union, the workers simultaneously confirmed (the majority of them, at least) their allegiance to the principles of socialism. It has to be mentioned also that the workers operated actively not only in the unions. They played an important part in the renewal of the party and the creation of workforce councils, in a word, participated assertively in the process of socialist renewal. Of course, this applies not to all workers inasmuch as the orientation toward socialism, albeit predominant among the working class, was not the sole one. Antisocialist sentiments were registered also.

Particular Features of the Polish Working Class

The working class, as already mentioned, is in Poland the most populous social group. Some 7.5 million persons are employed in production proper, and altogether this social group together with family members constitutes approximately 15 million persons. More than 60 percent of workers are under 40 years of age, and the bulk thereof, furthermore, is under 35. In the total numbers of workers more than 40 percent, and in industry more than 50 percent, have had more than 7 years of education, vocational more often than not, and frequently secondary technical. It should be mentioned for comparison that in 1958 even almost 42 percent of workers had incomplete 7-year education (2).

People working in the following sectors predominated in the overall composition of the working class on the threshold of the 1980's in industry: food, textile, coal and machine-building industry, production of transport facilities and chemicals and electrical engineering and garment industry. Almost 400,000 workers (including 42.8 percent women) were employed in food industry at the start of the 1980's, 10,000 more in textile industry (68.2 percent women), almost 350,000 in coal industry (8.8 percent women), 340,000 in machine building (18.2 percent women), more than 322,000 in production of transport facilities (19.1 percent women), more than 250,000 in metal working (28.6 percent women), approximately as many (37 percent women) in chemical industry, 211,000 (45.8 percent women) in electrical engineering industry and more than 204,000 (83.7 percent women) in garment industry (3). Some 56 percent of the industrial working class was concentrated in these sectors of industry. There are also populous detachments of the working class in agriculture and construction. However, the main place belongs to industrial workers, although the sectoral structure reflects the technical development characteristic more of the first half of the current century than its penultimate decade. This is connected to a considerable extent with the level of equipment provision. The food and textile industries are not progressive from this viewpoint. At successive stages of industrialization industry has not only expanded but been updated. This was observed on a broad scale in the 1970's also, although the problem of the conditions of work and its load is still awaiting solution. Work conditions continue to determine the position of workers as a social group and, in addition, influence very strongly their state of health. According to data published in the monograph "Position of the Working Class in Poland," which was prepared by the Institute for Study of the Working Class, half of the jobs in production are not mechanized. Four million persons perform work requiring great physical effort. Approximately 3 million persons work in conditions not entirely corresponding to safety rules, including 300,000 in conditions which are extremely injurious to health. There are more than 12,000 fatal accidents in industry annually, and more than 100,000 persons are retired every year on a disability pension. Of the 3 million persons who travel to work from distant localities and for whom the work day in fact constitutes no less than 10 hours, the majority are workers (4).

In the sectors in which the majority of the working class is concentrated (with the exception of the food and coal industries) not only a relatively high level of occupational illness but also an increase therein has been registered. In textile industry, for example, the incidence of occupational

illness per 100,000 persons employed grew from 68.7 in 1978 to 103.1 in 1982, in chemical industry, from 106.2 to 187.7, and in metal working industry, from 89.7 to 119.9. A diminution has been registered in food industry--from 31.1 to 19.9--and coal industry--from 220.8 to 224.9 in 1982 (343.9 in 1981). As a whole, however, an increase in the number of occupational illnesses both in industry and construction is being registered. A kind of regional concentration of this negative phenomenon or the other is being observed also. Thus, for example, in the most industrially developed Katowice Province from 1,700 to 2,000 new cases of occupational illness are revealed annually, which constitutes 25-30 percent of the total incidence of illnesses of this category countrywide (5). Here are the roots of the reason why the position of workers in various walks of life is more difficult and worse than that of other social groups. Although a significant growth of wages has been observed in recent years, many worker families are, as before, in the low-income group. This is explained, in part, by the fact that the families of workers are larger and that in them both parents do not always work. As you know, a difficult situation with respect to accommodation has taken shape in Poland, and workers constitute significant numbers of those waiting for an apartment or renting accommodation with poor conditions.

The said circumstances merit particular attention inasmuch as they determine the position of the working class, influence its world outlook, views and behavior and point to the objective need for the speediest social development. Attention is called to this by the decisions of the 10th PZPR Congress, which cite the key directions of a solution of this problem. It should be remembered here that these problems continue to occupy a large place in the workers' demands emanating from the experience of the past and that they will expect of their organizations actions precisely in this area.

After all the upheavals and difficulties, organizations of the working class have begun to take shape once again. In the party, which has more than 2 million members, workers constitute approximately 40 percent, and, what is very important, their number is beginning to increase. Young workers also have now begun to join the party, which is of particular significance in connection with the high proportion of the youth in the overall numbers of the working class. Workers are the most populous group in the makeup of the new labor unions. According to data at the end of 1985, workers constituted approximately 40 percent of the numerical composition of the unions, and their share was even greater in 1986. The highest rate of increase in the numbers of the unions was observed in the first half of 1986 in the Federation of Miners (by 60,300 persons), Federation of Metal Workers (32,000) and Federation of Light Industry Workers (by 22,000). These union organizations, which are primarily of a worker nature, operate in important sectors of the economy and unite large detachments of the working class. However, the problem of participation in the unions remains complicated, particularly if it is observed that at the end of 1985 some 55.8 percent of the total number of persons employed were on average members of trade unions (6).

Some 130,000 persons, of whom workers constituted 55 percent, have been elected to the worker councils--self-management bodies. More often than not the members of the worker councils have secondary vocational (29.5 percent) and elementary vocational (24 percent) education. Some 12.3 percent have

higher education, 6.1 percent, general secondary. People aged 30-39 (45.8 percent) and 40-49 (30 percent) predominate in the worker councils. As a whole, 75.8 percent of the members of the worker councils pertains to the 30-49 age interval. More than half the worker council chairmen are party members--this is almost 2.5 times higher than the proportion of the party stratum in the workforce. Union members constitute 55 percent of the worker councils. At enterprises employing over 300 persons workforce delegate meetings are the self-management bodies together with the worker councils. In the former workers occupy an even more significant place than in the worker councils. Workers predominate in the bodies of the recently formed Worker-Peasant Inspectorate. Their representatives are a part of the people's councils. There are workers in the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and among the members of the Polish Sejm.

New Aspects of the Basic Functions of the Working Class

It is well known that in the process of formation of the socialist society the working class performs three functions, namely, political, socio-cultural and economic. Within the framework of each of these functions the specific role of the working class appears somewhat differently, which is brought about by a number of very important factors. Some of them we have already mentioned.

The first and, evidently, most important of them is that following the accomplishment of the revolution the working class finds itself in a dual position: while remaining a working class, it becomes the ruling class. This fact is emphasized in the party program adopted by the 10th PZPR Congress.

Within the framework of their political function the workers primarily are a ruling class. Although it cannot be said that the working class entirely performs its ruling function, this process nonetheless gradually develops, encountering en route various restrictions and obstacles. The political function is realized via a complex system of the structure of power, in which the leading position is occupied by the political party of the working class. It is, as V.I. Lenin wrote, the ruling party.

A new aspect in the working class' exercise of this function under present Polish conditions is undoubtedly the need for an increase in the proportion of workers in the party and an intensification of the policy adopted by the Ninth Special PZPR Congress oriented primarily toward satisfaction of the workers' interests. This policy is expressed in: 1) a thorough analysis of the situation, requirements and aspirations of the working class; 2) coordination with the working class of the most important socioeconomic decisions; 3) creation of the conditions for the development of the organizations which are supported by the workers or from which the workers expect actions geared to realization of their interests. Pertaining to these organizations primarily are the worker self-management bodies and the unions. Of course, the most important question is the role of the workers in the party itself. A special PZPR Central Committee plenum, held in 1985, was devoted to this. This question also occupied a big place in the decisions of the 10th PZPR Congress, which observed, inter alia: "A guarantee of the achievement of the goals of socialism is a strengthening of the leading role of the working class.... Exercising the leading role in the political system, the party watches to

ensure that the activity of the state correspond to the interests of the working people and guarantee for all citizens, the working class particularly, the possibility of exerting a determining influence on the solution of the country's problems" (7). The decree goes on to mention the unions and worker self-management, and there is particular emphasis, furthermore, on their significance as organizations whose activity is exercised in the interests of the working class. The congress' decree on the unions says: "An important social and political event is the restoration of the labor unions. They represent an essential component of the socialist system and may effectively undertake the defense of the interests of the working class and other groups of working people.... We will endeavor to ensure that they exert their influence on the socioeconomic policy of the state and express and defend the professional and social interests of the working people. At the same time, however, we look to them to more boldly develop and support all forms of assertiveness in work and social life and in the innovators and efficiency promotion movement and to encourage the aspiration to an improvement in labor organization and discipline and increased responsibility and professional pride."

With respect to questions of self-management the congress' decree said: "The party sees the self-management bodies as a fundamental component of socialist democracy. Regarding self-management as a cornerstone of the economic reform, the party expresses its emphatic readiness to contribute to an increase in the opportunities for the participation of the workforce in enterprise management, stimulation of the broadest strata of the working people and an enhancement of the extent of their responsibility for the fate of the enterprise. The party will resolutely counter all attempts to violate the rights of self-management and undermine its authority and significance" (8).

The continued development of self-management and the unions and a strengthening of their functions and rights are a most important problem in the sphere of an enhancement of the political role of the working class.

Great significance is also attached to the development of the socio-cultural functions of the working class. These functions also manifest the above-mentioned dual position of the working class. The working class represents an object subject to the impact of culture and its institutions and at the same time plays the part of subject of the formation of culture.

Among the most essential requirements of the working class is the aspiration to impart to its values a creative nature in order that these values and ideas acquire a national scale and become the standards of all of society. Social justice, dignity of labor and democracy pertain to them primarily. Workers assign the problem of social justice a special place. This is confirmed by sociological surveys conducted among the workers at various times. The workers' criticism has always been leveled at violation of the principles of social justice. This problem intensified in August 1980. The opinion could sometimes be encountered to the effect that in fighting for social justice the working class is opposed to any differentiation of income and advocates extreme egalitarianism. This view is not confirmed by research, despite a whole number of egalitarian slogans of the August protest period. The socialist principle of distribution according to labor has become a profound

part of the consciousness of the workers and has always enjoyed their support. Of course, workers are opposed to inordinate income differentiation, particularly to any kind of privilege, which, however, should be seen as proof of their orientation toward socialism. The working class (as surveys confirm) has proven repeatedly that it has its own ideas about socialism. A principle place in these ideas belongs to the principle of distribution according to labor and social justice. Of course, radical egalitarian views rejecting even a relative difference in income are observed also, but sociological surveys show, however, that there are also relatively strong groups of workers which support a considerable differentiation of income if it is based on actual labor contribution or work efficiency.

The economic function of the working class is extraordinarily important. In this function the working class is the main producer of national income. The role of the working class in this sphere is gradually increasing as industry and other nonagricultural sectors develop. Naturally, the economic function of the working class does not amount merely to labor and the production of national income. It also incorporates the function of coowner of the means of production, that is, from the practical viewpoint, participation in the management of production. Whence ensues the significance of worker self-management and its new concept, enshrined in law, of the self-management of the workforce of the state enterprise adopted in September 1981.

The Polish working class, the majority, in any event, has traditionally been interested in self-management. This was expressed both in the workers' active participation in the formation of worker councils in 1956 and in the creation of worker self-management bodies at the start of the current decade. This is also confirmed by the results of sociological surveys conducted in more "tranquil" times. One such, conducted in 1983 in the outfits of certain key enterprises, showed that more than 80 percent of the workmen supported a resumption of the activity of the self-management bodies even under the conditions of martial law, considering this a factor of stabilization. Surveys of 1985 encompassing a representative group of industrial workers employed at state and cooperative, large, medium and small enterprises testified, in turn, that more than 63 percent of the workers support self-management and link big hopes with its activity. Of course, this support was considerably stronger at large and medium-sized enterprises than at small ones. The size of the enterprise exerts a palpable influence on the extent of the workers' orientation toward self-management. The level of qualifications and length of service have an impact in the same direction. Consequently, self-management is supported primarily by the section of the working class which is connected with the progressive sectors of industry and which is interested to a greater extent in participation in management.

Workers and the Reform

Under current Polish conditions a basic criterion of an evaluation of the position and behavior of different social groups is their attitude toward the reforms. This applies particularly to the economic reform, which is essentially of a socioeconomic nature. It encompasses a whole set of changes not only in the sphere of the economy. The economic reform in Poland has a strong self-managerial focus. In accordance with the provisions of the reform,

the self-management of the workforce should represent a kind of social mechanism geared to an increase in the efficiency of management and democratization of the economy. The adopted concept of self-management points in the direction of the formation of new relations between the self-management body--the worker council--and the unions. In the future new relations between the enterprises and local authorities will take shape as the reform and self-management develop. The economic reform presupposes a high degree of democratization of the planning process, particularly the adoption of key planning decisions. However, the reform, which has many important social aspects, is having a number of repercussions of a noneconomic nature, in the management sphere primarily.

The full, comprehensive introduction of the reform presupposes the creation of mechanisms compelling an increase in the efficiency of management and contributing to technical progress and economic development as a whole. It is changing and, evidently, will change even more in the future the role of various institutions, limit the rights of some and increase the rights of others and create new priorities in place of existing ones. It could also lead, which is being observed today even, to an increase in income differentiation and a change in the existing pay structure. This is engendering even now and will continue to engender in the future contradictions and a clash of various interests and also a certain resistance to the reform as a whole.

In this connection the workers' attitude toward the reform is of extraordinary significance. Under Polish conditions it could exert a decisive influence on the pace, scale and results of the economic transformations. The point being that different groups of workers will be able to avail themselves of the results of the reform to a dissimilar extent, and some of them could even sustain losses if the enterprise proves inefficient and does not receive a sufficient subsidy. In addition, the reform and technical progress will lead to a destabilization of the position of certain groups of workers and other categories of workmen. Therefore the workers' attitude toward the economic reform is a complex problem, particularly from the viewpoint of the interests of individual groups of the working class.

A questionnaire organized in 1985 by the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences Institute for Study of the Working Class showed that significant numbers of the workers support the reform and deem it an absolute necessity. This opinion was shared by 47 percent of industrial workers polled, and more than 30 percent of them supported the application of the strictest forms of economic compulsion even. At the same time, however, approximately as many workers displayed an inclination to support or, at least, adopt a tolerant attitude toward a highly centralized system of management. Almost one-half of the workers polled supported a "gentler" introduction of the reform and preservation of such protective functions of the state as social security, limitation of income differentiation and so forth. In other words, granted the general relatively strong support for the reform, the positions of the workers on a number of important questions differ, but the workers are prepared to support a search for the necessary compromise between the demands of the economy and social goals, between economic and social policy.

It should be emphasized also that the workers support the reform not only because they consider it necessary. In their opinion, in the opinion of considerable numbers of them, in any event, the reform corresponds to the interests of the working class. The most populous group (more than 40 percent of those polled) believes that the reform corresponds to the interests of the working class to the extent of 50 percent, and 33 percent assert that the degree of correspondence between the aims of the reform and the interests of the working class constitutes more than 50 percent. An analysis of the answers to such questions showed the existence of very interesting interconnections. The connection between the reform and the interests of the working class is noted to a considerably greater extent by workers in receipt of relatively high income, with a long period of service and working at medium-sized enterprises. These workers not only express stronger support for self-management but also believe that it should actually play the part of the organ providing for participation in the management of the enterprise. Thus consistent support for self-management and the new concept thereof runs in parallel with recognition of the close connection between the interests of the working class and the economic reform.

Opposite opinions are expressed by the workers of enterprises in a difficult economic situation and with an employee strength of under 100 persons, that is, those ascribed to the small enterprise category located in areas with an inadequate level of industrial development. In the same way, the connection between the interests of the working class and the economic reform is perceived considerably less strongly by low-income workers with large families.

At the present time, as in the past also, it is the duty of the party, while consistently realizing the program of socialist renewal, to constantly tackle its historical task of instilling a socialist consciousness in the working class. There should be constant dialogue between the party and the working class. Essentially, it is this which is the basis of the program of socialist renewal. An important component of realization of this program is the shaping of relations between the party and such organizations of the working class as the unions or the workforce self-management bodies. We may recall in this connection the decree adopted by the PZPR Central Committee concerning relations between the party and the unions confirming the party's respect for the principle of the self-management of the unions and their independence of state administration. This decree, which is based on the decisions of the Ninth Special PZPR Congress, emphasizes that an invariable function of the unions is to represent and defend the working people's interests.

Of course, the questions outlined in the article are only part of the big and important problem of the role of the working class as a subject and certain new aspects thereof under the conditions of contemporary Poland. This problem will undoubtedly be a subject of study and discussion in the future also. In conclusion I would like to formulate several questions, answers to which should be sought both by scholars and practical workers:

how under the new conditions to elaborate a program of the further social development of the working class, what are its interests, how should they be realized, what priorities does the process of their realization advance?

In what are the interests of the working class--economic, social and also political--expressed? Of course, they are expressed in most general form in the development of socialism; it has to be considered, however, that the workers' ideas concerning socialism have their own specific features, which entails important consequences. Consequently, it is necessary to study these ideas, display concern for the realization of the positive points contained in them and take them into consideration in party policy.

How is the consciousness of the working class developing, how does it evaluate reality, what are its dynamically changing requirements and aspirations?

How should the interests of the working class be expressed under the conditions of the surmounting of the social contradictions engendered by the crisis and the differences in interests ensuing from the structure of society? This structure will undergo various modifications, however, it may be assumed that there will be a consolidation of the social boundaries connected with the consolidation of the multistructure nature of the socioeconomic system.

The theoretical answer to these questions will be very important for practice, particularly for the proces of socialist renewal. A basic condition of its development is constant concern for a consolidation of the party's ties to the working class. The formation of these ties cannot be based on a repetition of solutions already applied in the past--they contributed not so much to strengthening as to disrupting and undermining them. Whence the need for new solutions, which were outlined in the decrees of the Ninth Special and 10th PZPR congresses.

The decisions adopted by the party confirm the key proposition according to which there should be constant, truly bilateral interaction between the ruling workers' party and the working class. The party must represent the working class and educate it, and the working class must have an opportunity to exert an effective influence on the party. This creates the conditions for a strengthening of the positions of the party and the working class, which is of great significance under current Polish conditions. This problem is very complex inasmuch as on the one hand there are and will be within the working class differences in standpoints and orientations and, on the other, the party may be disposed toward unduly optimistic evaluations or employ the solutions applied in the past. Recognition of the complexity of this process has now reached a relatively high level, to which the party documents evaluating the experience of the recent past--the years of crisis and struggle--testify.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Uchwala IX Nadzwyczajnego Zjazdu PZPR," Warsaw, 1981.

2. M. Oledzki, "Struktura zatrudnienia polskiej klasy robotniczej" w pracy "Polozenie klasy robotniczej w Polsce," vol 3, IBKR ANS PZPR.

3. Ibid.

4. "Polozenie klasy robotniczej w Polsce," "Warunki pracy i poziom zdrowotnosci robotnikow," vol I, IPPM-L KC PZPR, Warsaw, 1984.

5. Ibid.

6. See M. Honzler, "Zwiazki zawodowe w liczbach," POLITYKA No 41, 1986.

7. "Uchwala X Zjazdu PZPR," Warsaw, 1986.

8. Ibid.

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FINAL REPORT ON CONFERENCE ON WORKING CLASS IN PRESENT DAY

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 (signed to press 3 Mar 87) pp 47-134

[Editorial report] Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 2, March-April 1986 carries on pages 47-134 the third set of materials from the conference "The Working Class and the Present Day" held 8-10 October 1986 in Moscow. The material published here includes six presentations given at the conferences and three other reports. The presentations published in RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR are "The S&T Revolution and the Working Class" by A.B. Bardkhan, secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India; "General Mankind and Class in the Struggle for Peace" by Yu.A. Krasin, vice rector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, doctor of philosophical sciences; "The Workers Movement and the Present Day" by Eduardo Llano, member of the Cuban CP Central Committee, and Amparo Canal Rosaro, head of a department at the N. Venos Higher Party School; "Militarism and the Working Class" by B.N. Ponomarev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and member of the USSR Academy of Sciences [full translation follows]; "Decisive Orientation" by E. Froeshl, director of the Karl Renner Institute; and "The Working Class and the Problems of the Market Under Socialism" by I. Stoyanovich, professor at Belgrade University and member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee.

The three reports are "The S&T Revolution: Strategy of Capital--Challenge to the Working Class" by T.I. Tatishchev; "Technical Progress, the Working Class and Socialism" by V.V. Prozorovskiy; and "The Working Class of the Developing Countries: Realities and Prospects of the Struggle" by M.O. Karmanov.

The journal editorial board adds that, taking into account the interest of the conference participants, a separate book containing the conference materials will be published in Russian and English.

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PONOMAREV ON MILITARISM, ROLE OF WORKING CLASS AGAINST IT

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 (signed to press 3 Mar 87) pp 63-66

[Report of B.N. Ponomarev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Militarism and the Working Class"]

[Text] The question of militarism has long occupied the minds of the working class and its foremost representatives. It was discussed repeatedly at congresses of the Socialist International prior to WWI. In 1912 a manifesto was adopted at the Basel congress on struggle against militarism and war. "Try to ensure," it emphasized, "that governments have constantly before their eyes the vigilant and impassioned will to peace of the whole proletariat! Countrpose thus to the capitalist world of exploitation and mass killings the proletarian world of peace and the fraternity of the peoples."

It is important to remind all participants in the workers movement of this historic appeal now because militarism in our time has grown incredibly, and its danger has increased tenfold. "Modern militarism is the result of capitalism," V.I. Lenin wrote, and is used by it as military power for external aggressive actions and also as a tool for suppressing the economic and political protests of the working class and all working people. Militarism has flourished particularly luxuriantly since WWII. Its main danger and harm is that it leads to new wars, and in our era, to nuclear war. But even in peacetime militarism causes the working class and the people's masses incalculable harm.

A new manifestation of militarism since WWII have been the military-industrial complexes (MIC). They have acquired great power and dimensions in the United States. The MIC are an interweaving of major arms-producing monopolies and the military top brass and leaders of states and legislatures. With the passage of time the extent of the activity and influence of the MIC on domestic and foreign policy have increased. It is significant that former U.S. President D. Eisenhower warned the country in 1961 about the influence of the MIC: "This association of a colossal military apparatus and big military industry is something new in American history. Its all-embracing influence--economic, political and spiritual even--is perceived in every city...." The MIC are the main instrument of the arms race and largely determine government policy. Of

course, a tremendous role in all this is performed by the colossal profits pouring in a swelling stream into the safes of the MIC.

At the present time a whole system of militarism has taken shape in the major capitalist states, which is manifested in the creation of a huge military machine, unprecedented arms race, growth of military budgets and the use for military purposes of a substantial portion of the country's entire economic and scientific potential. In present-day capitalist society militarism permeates all socioeconomic and spiritual life. Its inalienable property is reliance on military power in the solution of international questions and the unchecked and constant propaganda of wars and violence.

As a result the economic and financial-budget policy of the developed capitalist states has assumed a militarist nature, infringing their social policy, culture and education, which is having a highly ruinous effect on satisfaction of the working people's vital requirements. Militarist circles endeavor to reduce humanitarian traditions to nothing and, on the contrary, awaken and stir up chauvinist reactionary sentiments. Militarism is now the main instrument of imperialism's struggle against socialism and the countries aspiring to national independence and creating a new free, democratic society.

Militarization of the social consciousness is taking place, this being introduced persistently and systematically by all methods and means: from "war games" and the corresponding cartoons for the very youngest through the use of an entire arsenal of mass information, culture and entertainments for adults. The inhumane ideology of present-day capitalism is doing increasingly great damage to people's spiritual world.

Militarist indoctrination is being performed here under the cover of slogans concerning a "defense of democracy" and the preaching of the need to arm to avoid war. The words of K. Marx are highly pertinent: "Of all the tenets of sanctimonious policy, none has caused as many disasters as those proclaiming: 'If you wish for peace, prepare for war'." Militarism also permeates imperialist states' foreign policy. Instead of the development of civilized relations befitting mankind of the 20th century, relations of the "nuclear nightstick" in glaring contradiction with the interests of present-day society and fraught with the danger of its annihilation are being implemented and implanted.

According to UN data, in the last four decades the arms race has swallowed up $12 trillion, which is three times more than the material losses incurred by all countries as a result of the two world wars. In the last 5-year period the average annual rate of increase in military production in the world has exceeded considerably the rate of civilian production. In the United States--the main country of present-day capitalism calling the tune of the arms race--the average annual rate of increase in military spending is two-three times higher than that of GNP and is continuing to grow. Whereas in 1945 U.S. military spending amounted to $83 million, in 1980 it had risen to $134 billion, and in 1986 was in excess of $300 billion. Expenditure on arms and the upkeep of armies is growing in other countries also--the FRG, Britain, Italy, France.

The endless arms process spurred by aggressive circles has led to the threat to the existence of civilization having reached an unprecedented level. Through the fault of imperialism mankind has now approached the critical line beyond which events passing out of its control could begin. The world now has, experts estimate, sufficient nuclear weapon stockpiles to wipe out everything living on Earth many times over. At least 50,000 nuclear warheads have been stockpiled. West Europe is packed to overflowing with nuclear weapons.

The "star wars" program, a plan for the militarization of space, appeared in the United States relatively recently. The SDI is the highest and most ominous embodiment of American militarism. In accordance with this program, work is being performed at an accelerated pace for the purpose of acquiring in addition to nuclear weapons new means of warfare--strike space-based arms. If this happens, the danger of war will increase considerably. American imperialism has made its active and powerful instrument the North Atlantic bloc (NATO), in whose countries the manufacture of the implements of people's annihilation does not cease for a single moment. In our time there is an exceptionally urgent ring to V.I. Lenin's proposition that internationally interwoven monopolies make tremendous profits from arms and wars.

All this imperatively dictates the need to activate all forces and use all opportunities to counter militarism and bar the way to nuclear war. Such forces and opportunities exist. The working class both in our era and in our time is the main force in the economy and the main producer of the material benefits necessary for society's existence. In the majority of developed capitalist countries the working class constitutes 70-80 percent of the gainfully employed population. In addition, its numbers have reached proportions unprecedented in the history of mankind. Whereas in K. Marx's time, when the "Workers of the World, Unite!" slogan was put forward, there were approximately 10 million workers, at the present time there are almost 700 million.

The working class has upheld its class ideals for many decades. Now, in the nuclear age, history entrusts to this class the historic mission of defense of itself and all mankind against calamitous wars and against nuclear annihilation. The interests of the development and preservation of all mankind take precedence over class interests. A combination of the efforts of all people of good will, primarily an alliance of the working class and the peasantry and people of mental work--doctors, teachers, engineering-technical personnel--is highly important for success in the antiwar struggle. The objective conditions for this exist. The said strata of the population also are suffering from the arms race and military spending and incurring increased taxation, inflation and unemployment and the ruin of the farmers.

There are on Earth in our time powerful forces opposed to and counteracting the military threat and the arms buildup. They are primarily the Soviet Union and the socialist community, which are conducting a great historic battle for peace and the security of the peoples. Unification of the efforts of the working class and the working people of the nonsocialist zone of the world with the efforts of the working people of the socialist countries would permit the creation of a mighty barrier in the way of the preparation for war.

Under current conditions it is important to find and use all opportunities for the practical actions of various detachments of the workers movement and its friends in the defense of peace. It is very important:

a) that the broad masses of workers, leading circles of the workers movement and all people of good will recognize the danger of nuclear war, which threatens the extermination of all mankind; b) to strive to transfer correct decisions and declarations to the plane of actual specific action to the benefit of peace and general security; practice unity of action with all peace-loving forces; everywhere there are wage workers pursue step by step a common policy of counteraction of militarism and its aggressive policy; c) to strive now even for a decisive reduction in military spending and the use of the resources thus released for social needs; d) that the organizations of the working class elaborate an alternative to the arms race, counterposing to it the production of civilian peaceful products, and point the way to the transition to an economy of peace.

The international workers movement was unable to prevent world wars I and II. Mankind paid for this a high price--the loss of 60 million persons and the tremendous devastation of cities and villages. Now the possibilities for combating the military danger are objectively great. The powerful alliance of the socialist community countries, which are persistently pursuing a policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, is struggling against nuclear catastrophe. On guard of general peace stand the nonaligned countries. A powerful antiwar movement of practically all strata of society is growing in the citadels of capitalism itself. Today the international working class together with the progressive professionals, who are fighting vigorously for peace, the peasantry and other strata of the population actively disposed against war is undoubtedly capable of averting from our planet the threat of World War III, the threat of nuclear death. It is a question of rallying together and setting in motion these mighty social forces.

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SOVIET AUTHOR DESCRIBES VISIT TO THREE AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CITIES

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 (signed to press 3 Mar 87) pp 135-146

[Report by M.I. Lapitskiy: "In the Industrial Heartland of America"]

[Excerpts] Endeavoring to scoop up if only a drop
of the alien, other-wordly element.

A. Fet

From New York to Pittsburgh is no more than one and a half hour's flight. The 8 million-strong light-flooded evening giant of a city lay for a long time beneath the wing of the floating aircraft, as if frozen in air. And it was now difficult to say whether this was New York, its populous suburbs or some totally different city, whose name we might have learned had we had a detailed map. But we did not, and for this reason the sparkling dots seen through the spherical windows of the low-flying aircraft remained for us the anonymous lights of unfamiliar American cities.

And it was only when the aircraft began its descent that we saw a sea of lights and could say with certainty that this was Pittsburgh. We had rushed here for the first of two conferences, which were, strictly speaking, the purpose of our trip.

We were a delegation from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement--T.T. Timofeyev, director and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, B.I. Koval, deputy director and doctor of historical sciences, A.A. Galkin, head of a department and doctor of historical sciences, and your author. The time was November 1986.

In the American 'Lorraine'

Smoke plus blood equals steel.

Carl Sandburg

Literally whoever we met in Pittsburgh--professors, students, union figures, simply casual passers-by--all spoke with concern about the difficulties being

experienced by the former world steel-making "capital" and the strike protests of the steelworkers, construction workers and other detachments of the working people which had been flaring up from time to time recently in this part or the other of this American-scale "Lorraine".... But all in turn.

Americans are businesslike and punctual people, and as soon as we found ourselves at Pittsburgh Airport, we were immediately presented with a program down to the last details of our stay in the United States for all 14 days. It took account of the interests of each and every one of us and scheduled meetings with American colleagues not only in terms of days and hours but of minutes virtually. Running ahead, I would say that the organizers of the trip followed the program undeviatingly "to the letter".

Thus, in accordance with this guide to action, tired after our long and wearying journey, we found ourselves in the home of the hospitable Ronald Lindon, "head of the University of Pittsburgh's Center for the Study of Russia and East Europe," as the card presented to us testified. That day we did not have time to breathe in on the street the far from clean Pittsburgh air for just a few minutes even.

A wit and a joker, Lindon was soon introducing us to those assembled--there were no fewer than 15-20 of them. They were all university colleagues of the host.

Following the initial introduction, a conversation was struck up concerning the upcoming conference--some of those present had gathered to take part in it. Gradually the conversation turned to Pittsburgh--a city which the majority of us were visiting for the first time. Here, at this party, we heard for the first time about the city's problems, specifically about the construction workers' strike, which we could have seen for ourselves had we arrived a day earlier.

Vying with one another, those assembled described this strike. Someone had a current issue of the local paper, THE PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE, whose front page carried a detailed account of the strike. This worker protest was described to us as something important and unusual, although Pittsburgh could hardly be surprised at strikes--the city's workers movement has many heroic pages of its history.

"Approximately 50,000 construction workers took part in the strike," Bob Donnorummo, a lecturer, told us. "By their actions the bosses clearly sought to undermine the construction workers' union movement. The construction workers were opposed to the employers' use of non-union labor at city construction sites, particularly in the construction of a trade center and communications complex rebuilt from the old central station building. You know how much was spent on this reconstruction?" Bob asked, and his already big eyes widened even further--a sizable amount, obviously. "$27 million!" Bob almost shouted. Someone whistled. A colossal sum, indeed.

"However, this is nothing to do with the strike," Bob continued. "You should have seen what happened in the center yesterday! The strike paralyzed the city's entire business district. Public transport did not operate. The streets

were packed with strikers, sympathizers and lookers-on. A strike was declared by 28 construction locals. The parade was impressive. The demonstrators were, seemingly, innumerable, yet the organizers had calculated that no more than 5,000 would take part in the protest. The police were powerless to do anything, although the temptation to make arrests was, of course, great, but how can you arrest 40,000-50,000. Impossible and pointless. The workers got what they wanted, and the employers could do nothing but meet them half-way."

Bob was silent for a moment and then added: "Nonetheless, the construction workers are far from being in as serious a position as that in which our steelworkers are now in."

The following days we heard many stories about the calamitous situation in the steel industry of Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Lorain, Youngstown, (Mak-Kisport) Homestead and other inhabited localities of the Monongahela Valley. The river of this name flows into Pittsburgh; here together with another--the Allegheny--it forms the wide, high-water Ohio, which takes it waters to the south of the country, to the Mississippi.

The city triangle is picturesquely inscribed between the two rivers and can be seen plainly from the small hills rising above Pittsburgh. We could perhaps agree with the local inhabitants that the topography of the city, which is located in hilly terrain and bordered by rivers, is somewhat reminiscent of the East European capitals of Belgrade, Prague and Budapest, and were it not for the skyscrapers downtown (the business part of the city), this similarity would be even more apparent.

The University of Pittsburgh building is one of the most prominent in the city. Erected in 1926, it is reminiscent of a magnificent cathedral, one built at least two-three centuries ago, what is more. The other university buildings are nearby this administrative building. The scientific conference "Parties and the Workers Movement in Europe and North and Latin America," in which we participated, was being conducted in one of them. A number of important theoretical problems was raised at this conference, and it permitted a comparison of the results of the empirical research of the scholars of both countries and ascertainment of the general and the particular in their development.

All the Soviet scholars presented papers, repeatedly spoke in the debate and took an active part in the discussions. T.T. Timofeyev and B.I. Koval chaired sessions. At the time of the conference in Pittsburgh we were joined by our USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD colleague V.B. Kuvaldin, who was in the United States at that time. He plunged into the work right away.

C. Bergqvist (Duke University), J. Ross (Brandeis University), C. Blasier (University of Pittsburgh), R. Alexander (Ruttgers University), S. Venensuela (Kellogg Institute), M. Golden (Wesleyan University), N. Davis (Harvey College) and many others participated in the conference from the American side.

I will not dwell in detail here on the work of the conference--this is a special subject--I would merely note that, despite certain differences in the

approaches and evaluations of the two sides, the conference was held in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. The discussions at the conference in Pittsburgh, as several days later in Chicago, showed that American scholars are concerned for the fate of peace and that they view with disquiet the present complication of the international situation. Their as a whole negative attitude toward many aspects of the U.S. Administration's foreign policy was testimony to this....

In the evenings, when the sessions were over, our American colleagues devoted much time to us, showing us Pittsburgh and familiarizing us in passing with its problems. My volunteer guide, Michael (Seyd), untiringly described the confrontation between the United Steelworkers Union and the giant corporation until recently known as U.S. Steel. Actually, I had known of this long-standing conflict even before my trip to the United States, but here, in Pittsburgh, it was easier to perceive its seriousness and to imagine better and more visibly its nature.

Of the 500 biggest American corporations, 15 have their headquarters in Pittsburgh--this is more than in any other city aside from New York and Chicago. One of the wealthiest of them is U.S. Steel.

"You know the history of this company?" my talkative guide asked me. And without waiting for a reply, continued. "It was founded by Morgan. Such powerful names as Carnegie, Westinghouse, Frick, Hunt, Mellon are linked with Pittsburgh. But I would like to talk about Morgan. In 1865, while the Civil War was still going on, he made his fortune by buying up in the army at $1 apiece rifles rejected by military specialists and subsequently reselling them to the supply services at $20 each. This is how the fabulous enrichment of the Morgans began, and this is a historical fact. They never did as well subsequently...."

The car drove past gloomy, neglected enterprise buildings--we would encounter such heart-rending pictures once again when we traveled down the highway from Pittsburgh to Chicago across the "rust belt" through the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois.... In Pittsburgh we saw unfinished gray walls, behind which the roofs of silent shops appeared. Notices could been seen on the gates: "Sorry. No Work". A stream of people once headed here. Now it is a wilderness here, nobody in sight; the huge parking lot is there, as before, but there are no cars. The nearby streets are empty also, stores are closed, their empty windows have been smashed--a somewhat frightening spectacle.

We saw the same picture in Homestead--a Pittburgh suburb--Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago.

A kind of fair was being held at the time we arrived in Pittsburgh.... Stalls with hand-sown embroidery, rugs, candlesticks and a multitude of knick-knacks--a regular fair, seemingly. However, there was something cheerless about it, but what, it was difficult to grasp at first sight. As we were told later, it had been organized by the city's unemployed in order, by selling simple artefacts, to somewhat alleviate their financial difficulties and pay off some of their debts. However, the fair pursued not only and, perhaps, not

so much commercial aims. According to one of its organizers, M. Stack, "the fair is an attempt to once again call attention to the fact that Pittsburgh has, as before, very many unemployed."

And whereas a fair of unemployed is something unusual, the unemployed themselves are by no means such. In Pittsburgh percentage unemployment is higher than the national average. In November 1986 it was at the 8-percent level in this city.

Pittsburgh residents spoke with concern about the fact that the city's population is constantly declining and that this process accelerates with every passing year. According to data of the American Iron and Steel Institute, as of the mid-1970's the steel corporations have closed down approximately 700 "industrial units," and the number of United Steelworkers Union members has declined in this same period twofold from 1.4 million to less than 700,000 persons.

These bare figures conceal the tragedy of people and whole communities--in the majority of cases there are no alternative sources of employment in the factory-plant neighborhoods. Families have to move, sell their residence and travel south in search of work, where it is not that easy to find either....

Thirty years ago Americans were the world's principal exporters of steel. Now the picture has changed sharply--in our day their turnover on the international market has come to constitute no more than one-tenth of the turnover of Japan.

The reason for the serious slump in the entire U.S. metallurgical industry is corporate policy aimed at obtaining the maximum profits. The endeavor of the TNC to transfer production overseas, profiting on the cheap manpower in Asia, Africa and Latin America, is leading to the closure of many enterprises and mass unemployment in the steel, automobile, mining, textile and certain other sectors of industry in the United States itself. While obtaining huge profits overseas, the TNC are in no hurry to invest resources in the modernization of their enterprises in the United States.

As a result, according data of the same Iron and Steel Institute, the load on production capacity in foundries in the United States has fallen to 60 percent in the last 5 years. For the purpose of reducing production costs in the United States employers are making mass dismissals of workers on the pretext of the need for plant modernization, imposing a sharp reduction in wages on the remainder. The president of U.S. Steel once said that his "corporation's primary job is to make money, not steel." He remains true to this principle.

The United Steelworkers Union is criticizing the steel corporations at congresses and in its newspaper, STEEL LABOR, for "diversifying" instead of modernization equipment: they are investing their capital in services, chemical production, river transport, the oil business and so forth. Reflecting this expansion, the U.S. Steel corporation changed its name in mid-1986. It is now called USX Corporation, and one of its subdivisions continues to be called U.S. Steel.

Speaking in Pittsburgh, D. Barnett, former chief economist of the Iron and Steel Institute, declared that the American steel industry expects a further decline in production and increased unemployment. He observed that if decisive measures are not adopted, steel production in the country will decline by 20 million tons over the next 10 years. The number of persons employed in this sector of the economy has diminished by 300,000 in the last 15 years and could by the end of the century have declined by a further 100,000.

Shorter-term forecasts were issued during our stay in the United States. The Chase Econometrics research firm predicts a further winding down of production in the United States' steel industry in 1987. According to the estimates of this firm, production capacity capable of annually producing 10-15 million tons of steel will be wound down in the present year owing to a decline in the number of orders, which has to lead to the "disappearance" of approximately 30,000 jobs in this sector.

The workers' concern at the disturbing situation which has taken shape in steel industry is reflected by the record labor conflicts in terms of seriousness and duration between the steelworkers and the owners of USX. A conflict at 16 enterprises belonging to this corporation of many months' standing continued during the time we were in Pittsburgh. Having failed to win from the United Steelworkers Union consent to the workers' "voluntary" pay cuts and a cutback in social programs, the corporation bosses broke off negotiations with it and locked the enterprise gates.

The owners of the steel giant expected that it would not be 2 weeks before the workers retreated and consented to the truly constraining terms of the labor agreement put forward by the company. However, their calculations misfired. Practically all 45,000 persons who were thrown onto the street by the corporation have displayed fortitude and a resolve not to allow the tyranny of the employers and to defend their interests. As a result the conflict has become the most protracted in the history of the U.S. steel industry.

In order to crush the steelworkers' resistance the USX owners resorted to crude police violence. Police units sent in to break up the demonstrators instigated a real bloody battle. Many workers were injured. Two leaders of the union local--Frank (Valent) and Alfred (Pen)--were taken to hospital with serious bodily injuries. Some 87 steelworkers actively protesting the lockout were arrested....

My likeable guide took me to the scene of the workers' militant protests in Pittsburgh, then the car drove out of the city, and we were in Homestead. Here, by the highway, is a small memorial to the casualties of the 1892 strike--one of the bloodiest class battles in the history of the United States.

Detroit--Motor City

"Americans differ, some are proletarian,
but some, bourgeois."

V. Mayakovskiy

Much has been written about America's roads, and there is essentially nothing to add to it other than that we drove past cities and towns inseparably connected with various periods in the history of the American workers movement: Akron, Youngstown, Lorain.... Not to mention big industrial Cleveland. For this reason the road called to mind pictures from the distant and not so distant past. Not only an industrial part of the country, from the corners of our eyes we saw "single-story America," farms, apple and strawberry plantations, drifted past us. Everywhere we were accompanied by advertising advising, suggesting, urging, beguiling, entreating, demanding.... We were struck by the cleanliness of the highways--neither pieces of paper nor scraps of newspaper nestling by the roadside. It turns out that a colossal fine of the order of several hundred dollars, reaching as much as $1,000 depending on the corresponding law of this state or other, is stipulated for trash thrown out of a car. It is not surprising, therefore, that the roads were distinguished by an enviable cleanliness.

We had a bite to eat in the popular, cheap McDonalds and Rex's and looked from these small "cafes" on the vans, economy cars and vehicles of various designs speeding by--a typical picture which we have seen in many American movies.

It was Sunday, and we were struck by the emptiness of the cities, Cleveland particularly. Its business section had, it seemed, become completely extinct, and the wind blowing the autumn leaves along the sidewalks emphasized the depressing, lifeless appearance of the huge city. And only distant steamers on the Lake Erie horizon testified that life still existed somewhere.

We reached Detroit before dark and could even while the sun was setting admire the view afforded from the right bank of the Detroit River of Canada spread out along the other side. While we were being taken to the center, where out hotel was located, we were able to see for ourselves that we were in one of the biggest industrial centers of the United States. Fifth in terms of population and fourth in industrial importance, the city spread out before us as a multi-kilometer string of auto assembly plant buildings. We knew, of course, that the American auto industry, of which Detroit is the center, had been suffering recently no less than steel. The auto industry, which for many decades symbolized the flowering of American exports, is undergoing the same "modernization" as has affected literally all sectors of industry. In 1950 the United States catered for no less than three-fourths of world automobile manufacture, in 1960, one-half, in 1970, one-third. In the 1980's the United States has for the first time given way in this respect to Japan.

In order to overcome the situation, the three giants--Ford, General Motors and Chrysler--which up to 1960 controlled 95 percent of the American market, have resorted to the same methods as the foundry owners--the closing of enterprises, dismissals of tens of thousands of workers, pay cuts, "movement" of enterprises to the parts of the United States where unions are absent or very weak, "emigration" to other countries with cheap manpower (Brazil, Mexico, Taiwan and others) and, finally, to the partial investment of capital in enterprises of various foreign firms, Japanese particularly. Thus, for

example, General Motors has linked up with Toyota and Isuzu, Ford, with Toyo kogyo, Chrysler, with Mitsubishi.

...We were not long in Detroit--a day and a half. I particularly remember the visit to the library of the workers movement named after Walter Reuther, who was for a long time head of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the influential, strong Auto Workers Union.

The library functions under the aegis of Wayne State University and has unique archives of letters, photographs, diaries and unpublished speeches, articles and brochures of top union figures, union congress material and so forth. Unique material connected with the history of such militant worker associations of the United States as the Order of the Knights of Labor, Industrial Workers of the World and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and certain others is collected here. The library contains the truly colossal archives of the United Auto Workers, Aerospace Industry and Farm Machinery Union. The archives hold many documents pertaining to the history of the Communist Party of the United States.

Unable to resist the temptation to familiarize himself somewhat more closely with the material of the library, your author spent a further half-day within its hospitable walls and availed himself of the kindness of the library staff, particularly Mrs Diane Miles, head of the archives, who opened up to him somewhat the treasure house of the archive collection: material on the celebration of May Day in the United States at the start of the 20th century, letters and photographs of William Haywood and other leaders of the IWW, a wealth of documentary material connected with the activity of a number of sectoral American unions and so on and so forth.

In Chicago Old and New

> Chicago has become a laboratory for the study of social movements and new ideas.
>
> Van Wyck Brooks

And once again there spread before us the highway leading further, westward, to the giant city of Chicago, where we were to participate in an anniversary conference devoted to the centenary of May Day, the history of which is inseparably connected with this major American industrial center.

Chicago represents the heart of the industrial triangle which is circumscribed by Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago and which has suffered particularly from the recession with the corresponding disastrous consequences for the workers. Harold Washington, who was elected mayor of Chicago in April 1983, despite the bitter racist campaign which was developed against him and in which the local Mafia took an active part, has repeatedly requested increased federal assistance for the workers of the foundries, but has not received the desired response. Chicago's problems are largely similar to those of the other industrial centers described above.

That Chicago is a city of some size we were convinced the next day, when we toured it by car. We saw the huge turquoise bowl of Lake Michigan and the extensive shoreline, from where a magnificent panorama of skyscrapers headed by the highest in all of America--the Sears tower--can be seen. Chicago has another "biggest": the world's biggest railroad junction, the biggest airport....

We were lucky--our city guide was a master of his craft, Charles Potowski, a specialist in the history of Chicago. He drove us around the city the whole day, showing us the most interesting places connected with the past of Chicago's workers movement, primarily the history of May Day.

Haymarket Square, where the tragic events of 4 May 1886 occurred, I had imagined being a broad, spacious, lively square packed with people and automobiles scurrying to and fro. We saw something diametrically opposite. Located not far from the central opulent streets of downtown, Haymarket was distinguished by neglect, garbage and shocking dilapidation. We saw its dimensions also. Haymarket now may, perhaps, only very provisionally be called a square: the square, which is squeezed between rundown buildings, looks out onto a railroad half overgrown with grass, near which the pedestal remaining from a monument to the police officer continues to stand in the dust of passing cars. The pedestal might have been overlooked altogether--so has it become merged with the drabness surrounding the square--had I not been looking for it myself, remembering its history.

Prior to 1972 there had stood here, at the intersection of Haymarket Square and West Randolph Street a monument on which was engraved a man in helmet and old-fashioned uniform. It was a monument to the police officer, not some specific person but the police officer in general, Police Officer in "capitals"--the symbol of law and order. The monument was blown up and smashed repeatedly, then the authorities gathered up the fragments and restored it, and the monument would be blown up again. Finally, the glued and reglued monument was transferred to a more tranquil spot--to the building of the Chicago Police Department--and left in a corridor of the Criminal Investigation Department. Remaining in the square was the pedestal, on which was engraved the entire long (since 1889) and troubled life of the monument--cracks and scratches furrowed its expressionless exterior. The absence of the figure of the arm of the law has made the pedestal an entirely needless, worthless object.

It turned out that Haymarket abuts on one side the building of the former police department from where the Bonfield-led squad of 180 police officers moved into the square to break up the crowd listening to the worker orators under pouring rain. Some of the homes in the square remain from those times and have organically blended in with the later buildings, forming some depressing uniformity.

Nothing recalls what happened here 100 years ago, there is no memorial slab, no monument to the workers who fell in the square on that tragic day, no monument to their leaders, who were not involved in the bloody events and who were sentenced to death, although innocent. Only the cold wind from the Great Lakes carries garbage around the small, neglected square, whose name has

become a firm part of the history of the American and international workers movement.

Not far from Haymarket Square there is one further corner of Chicago connected with the events which have been described. Between the giant skyscrapers rising above the city of 3.5 million stretched the small Hubbard Street, which has changed little in the past 100 years. How it has managed this remains a mystery for the skyscrapers have swallowed up the streets and corners which once were here. Earlier Hubbard Street had had a grander-sounding name--Michigan Street--but when, in the 1920's, the central, wide Michigan Avenue, flooded with the lights of advertising, appeared, the street was renamed. In Hubbard Street there is a building which earlier housed the Cook County Court, which it would hardly be worth remembering now had there not taken place therein the notorious trial of Chicago revolutionaries who have gone down in history as the "Chicago martyrs". This trial may be called more a farce and mockery of justice, which was proven incontrovertibly, but several years after, unfortunately, the execution of Parsons, (Shpis), Fisher and Engel and the suicide of the young Ling. This building, which is only partly preserved since that time, now houses the police department.

Alongside was the prison building in which the defendants languished until led out for the last time in the morning of 11 November 1887. Those sentenced to execution could from their solitary cells have heard the banging of hammers knocking together the gibbet. In the dark courtyard, narrow as a pencil box, where 200 invited guests were squeezed in, the four were executed. The yard has changed little since that time. The high latticed window (it can be clearly seen on the drawings depicting the "Chicago martyrs" dressed in white coveralls prior to execution) beneath which the four gibbets were installed is still preserved here.

We crossed this ominous yard, which is clearly visible from the street, and, as in Haymarket Square, found no signs communicating the events which occurred here 100 years ago. We are then once again on the busy Chicago streets and among the numerous posters attached to high poles and puffed out by the sharp wind, one thing catching the eye: "Haymarket Centenary". We noticed the same words on another poster not far from the Chicago Historical Society, in whose building an exhibition commemorating the May Day anniversary was arranged. The exhibition essentially reflects all the events connected in one way or another with May 1886; it provides a clear idea of the upsurge of the mass workers movement of the 1880's in the United States, the high point of which were the May events in Chicago. The vast amount of documentary material on display at the exhibition (photographs and newspapers of those years, biographical information on the participants in the events, diagrams, maps of the city, uniforms, police rifles and so forth) was set out in several rooms.

Schoolchildren--we were witnesses--were coming here with their teachers, and there were many other visitors viewing the exhibition with interest.

Much other interesting material connected with the city's past and present may be found in the spacious, bright building of the Chicago Historical Society. The museum's exhibits provide an idea of the culture, art and architecture of the city. At the time that we arrived in Chicago an extensive exhibition of

the well-known American architect Louis Sullivan--many buildings in the city had been built to his designs--was being held here.

We were shown the historical sights of the city, including the former Pullman plants, the celebrated Chicago stockyards described by Upton Sinclair in "The Jungle" and much else.

The memory has an amazing faculty. What there, in the United States, I noticed fleetingly, through the corner of my eye and to which, seemingly, I had attached no significance, here, in Moscow, I suddenly recall, and clearly, in detail, what is more. It is incomprehensible why I suddenly extract from my memory the streets of Chicago, along which we drove just one time. I recall North Londale--the black ghetto area, which many Americans associate with New York's South Bronx. The population of North Londale is 97 percent black, and this neighborhood is distinguished by neglect and decline. Bloody clashes flared up frequently here in the 1960's--the fight for civil rights in Chicago was serious and bitter....

Here is the Mexican neighborhood with bright, catchy drawings on the walls of the homes--like Mexico in miniature. A non-Mexican is rarely encountered on the streets of this neighborhood.... And a Chinese pagoda and hieroglyphics in the store windows--only Chinese live here.

Neighborhood after neighborhood, each different from the other (a few days later we would encounter this in New York), floats past us. And all this seems (and seemed at that time also) somehow unreal--in a matter of an hour or so being in many parts of the world: Mexico, China, Japan, East Europe.... Although, truth to tell, the impression was not that this was some imitation.

The Chicago "The Workers Movement in the West: May Day Centennial" conference was held in the premises of the spacious Newberry Library, on its second floor. A colored tag with the name of its owner was stuck on the coat lapel of each of us at the entrance to the library.

The conference had assembled many well-known historians and economists not only from our two countries. The British expert in problems of the workers movement, Eric Hobsbaum, for example, a tall, somewhat stooping man, a master of debate and disputation, had come to Chicago to take part. Scholars from the University of the State of New York (Binghampton) Fernand (Brodel) Center for the Study of Economics, Historical Systems and Civilizations, the imposing, magniloquent Immanuel Wallerstein and the restrained, elegant Giovanni Arrigi, with whom we had long been acquainted, had arrived. The author of many works on the history of the American workers movement, John (Laslett), a shy, somewhat reserved man with a Chekhovian beard, from the University of California, was taking part in the conference. We also made the acquaintance of experts in the 1886 events in Chicago, the lively, energetic Prof William Edelman and the dryish Karl Smith from Northwestern University.

Here, as in Pittsburgh, all members of the Soviet delegation presented papers and took part in the debate; T.T. Timofeyev chaired one of the sessions.

Without going into the work of the Chicago conference in detail, I would like to mention that it enabled its participants to examine specific problems of the workers movement and a number of theoretical issues connected with studies in this sphere. The exchange of opinions contributed to a contrasting of viewpoints and work methods and a comparison of the results obtained in terms of specific subjects. At the same time the exchange of opinions revealed a nonconcurrence of viewpoints on a number of the questions discussed. For example, the two sides evaluated differently the place of the May 1886 events in the history of the international workers movement, the ideological positions of the "Chicago martyrs," the interpretation of individual stages of the struggle of the American working class and its significance and so forth. The meaningful and interesting debate afforded the Soviet delegation a chance to express its, Marxist, viewpoint in respect of many important questions broached at the conference.

In the opinion of its participants, the conferences in Pittsburgh and Chicago proved interesting and useful to both sides and demonstrated that the potential for mutual contacts between Soviet and American scholars is far from exhausted. We were told this by our American colleagues following the sessions, and this was said in writing to us after we had returned to Moscow.

...Of the multitude of meetings which we had in the United States, I recall one further meeting--with the affable Gregory (Tarpinyan), leader of the Association for the Study of Labor Problems. The USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD has long-standing research relations with this center. An agreement was reached during this meeting on the joint study of a number of problems of the contemporary workers movement such as, specifically, the working class and the antiwar movement, the structural crisis and the working class, the TNC and the working people, union movement trends, new directions of the class struggle and others. G. (Tarpinyan) presented the delegation with his article "The Working Class and the New Technology" (it is contemplated publishing the article in RK i SM).

Early in the morning of the following day we left for New York. After a brief inspection of the city (a more thorough one would have required at least several days, but we had no more than 5-6 hours), we were in the air once again, flying from New York to Moscow. The trip was over, the program had been fulfilled completely. Industrial America, through which we had traveled, the conferences, the numerous meetings, conversations, discussions--all this is indelibly imprinted in our memory.

I would like to believe that this trip made its modest contribution to the cause of an expansion of mutual contacts between scholars of the two countries and will serve as further stimulus to new research initiatives and discussion.

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ILO REPORT ON DIFFICULT CONDITIONS FOR AFRICAN WORKERS

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 (signed to press 3 Mar 87) pp 163-168

[Article by Yu.M. Ivanov: "Material on the Labor Conditions of African Workers"]

[Text] Despite the comparative abundance in contemporary African studies of worker-study literature, questions of workers' labor conditions have as yet remained beyond the purview of researchers. The main thing for study thereof has been lacking--sufficient empirical material. This lacuna is made good to a considerable extent by the report devoted to an analysis of workers' labor conditions in African countries (excluding South Africa and Namibia) which was discussed at the Sixth African Regional ILO Conference (1). The report is interesting not only in that it is based on a study of a multitude of facts unknown to a broad range of scholars but also in that the unattractive labor conditions of African workers have been described by bourgeois specialists whom one could hardly accuse of an intention to exaggerate the calamitous position of the African proletariat.

In the majority of African countries labor legislation regulating the work day, recreation, wages and so forth encompasses only the working people of the so-called formal sector of the economy (the "formal sector" embraces the enterprises and establishments which are regularly considered in statistical accounts). But even here, to judge by the data of the report, labor legislation benefits are enjoyed only by a minority of workers. Of the 30-40 million persons employed in the "formal sector," only 10-15 million or 30-38 percent are encompassed by labor legislation. And the majority of them, furthermore, evidently belongs to not the workers but office employees.

This low proportion of working people encompassed by labor legislation in general and workers in particular is partly explained by the employers' noncompliance with the rules of law, to which the smallness of the number of labor inspectors and their incapacity for implementing the laws contribute, and partly by the fact that servants, workers employed at enterprises at which the number of workers is below the statutory minimum and also day laborers are excluded from the sphere of operation of the legislation.

The employers have a direct interest in the use not of permanent but casual workers, which impedes the formation of a regular proletariat. "At many enterprises," the report emphasizes, "particularly in construction, and also in food and textile industry many of the workers are day laborers. Recognizing that this system affords extensive opportunities for abuse, the governments of certain countries have enacted laws which stipulate that if a day laborer works continuously for a certain number of days (5 in Senegal, for example), he automatically acquires the status of permanent workman with all the advantages ensuing therefrom. However, inasmuch as there are many people looking for work on daily terms (more precisely, are forced to work by the day, at best--Yu.I.), the law may be circumvented easily, a worker being hired for a day or two and then replaced by another on the same terms" (2).

This practice is employed extensively not only in small but also large-scale enterprises. Its objective prerequisite is the extensive use of unskilled labor. Under the conditions of the practically inexhaustible supply of extraordinarily cheap manpower the employers are interested in production which makes as much use of unskilled workers as possible, condemning the latter to monotonous, physically enervating labor. Such labor prevents a workman from developing his talents and acquiring new skills, thereby creating a vicious circle leaving the workers without sufficient vocational training. The authors of the report explain the current situation by the shortage of skilled manpower. However, in reality, things are far more complex. A shortage of skilled manpower may by no means serve as an insurmountable obstacle in the way of technical progress. In such cases the problem may be solved by way of the training of workers. What is difficult to overcome is something else--the extensive introduction under the conditions of the development of capitalism in Africa of modern machinery and mechanisms requiring the use of skilled labor inasmuch as the cost of manpower is extraordinarily low; "...a lowering of the wage below the cost of manpower," K. Marx emphasized, "impedes the application of machinery and makes it superfluous and often directly impossible from the viewpoint of capital, whose profit, after all, comes not from a reduction in the applied labor in general but from a reduction in payable labor" (3). In Africa the wage of workers is, as a rule, considerably below the cost of their manpower. "The very low wage of the majority of them seldom permits them tolerable accommodation and a satisfactory diet" (4). It is this cheapness which is the main obstacle in the way of technical progress, contributing to a growth of industries based on unskilled, physically enervating labor. And, what is more, the said trend has today intensified markedly in connection with the decline in the real wage. Thus the narrowness of the use of labor resources in African countries arises not only as a result of the growth of the vast army of unemployed and the partially employed but also of the deprivation of millions of workers of the opportunity to acquire qualifications and to work while revealing their productive potential.

The exhausting nature of Africans' labor at capitalist enterprises has been brought about not only by the nature of the work which is frequently performed by the worker but the inordinate length of the work day. There are formally in all African countries laws limiting the work day to modern international standards. Thus in Cameroon, Djibouti, Gabon, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal the law determines a work week of 44 hours, in Egypt, The Gambia, Liberia, Morocco, Somalia, Tunisia, Uganda and Zaire, of 48 hours,

and in other countries, from 45 to 48 hours. However, it should not be forgotten here that, first, many categories of workers are not covered by labor legislation at all and, second, the latter usually provides for deviations which appreciably increase the work day. Specifically, for people employed in services (trade, restaurants, hairdressers) and for servants work time usually incorporates compulsory attendance at the place of work over and above the established limits, amounting to 50-60 and, at times, more hours a week. For example, the work week of a watchman in Swaziland is 60 hours, in Kenya, 70.

A prominent place in the lengthening of the work week is occupied by overtime. In this connection legislation in a number of countries stipulates even an overtime maximum which may be worked in the course of a week or year. Thus in Burundi this time is the equivalent of 15 hours per week and 150 hours per year, in Zaire, 12 and 144 hours respectively. In a number of states, which have only weekly overtime restrictions, its limits may constitute half of the regular work week, as in Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Senegal, for example, and even more than half, as in Mali.

The incorporation in African countries' legislation of restrictions on overtime hours is an important indicator on the one hand of the widespread practice of overtime work and, on the other, of the appreciable lengthening of the work day within the framework of current laws, not to mention the instances where the latter are violated in the interests of the employers. Specifically, as the report points out, management frequently cheats the workers when determining the time they have actually worked.

The widespread practice of overtime work means that the worker's wage cannot secure for him reproduction of manpower and that the entire system of pay is constructed such that to satisfy his vital needs he is usually forced to work overtime. The instances of workers' search for additional earnings in cases where the work day ends early and also regular plural work leading to chronic insufficiency of sleep and the workers' overstrain connected with it, in particular, testify to this. Systematic overtime is becoming an essential attribute of the labor of the worker, the authors of the report we are analyzing observe. "For workers long overtime hours paid at an increased rate are an appreciable addition to the wage; in instances of very low pay, on the other hand, such an addition proves essential for satisfying urgent needs. However, the benefits of the moment of increased earnings are completely canceled out by the pernicious consequences of overwork and fatigue caused by the excessive duration of work. This is confirmed by the reports of frequent instances of the use of stimulants and medicines" (5).

In order that the worker "voluntarily" overcome inordinate strain and overwork the employers apply a system of pay whereby earnings do not simply increase in line with the number of hours worked but primariy as a result of a lengthening of the work day. Thus in Tunisia, given a 40-hour week, hourly remuneration is taken as 100 percent, given a 48-hour week, 125 percent, and 150 percent for hours worked over and above this.

An extension of the work day is profitable to the employers for a number of reasons: in line with its extension, production increases without an increase

in the cost of machinery and the buildings and also of worker training. In addition, capital aspires to the extreme extension of the work day in order to compensate for the relative diminution in the number of exploited workers brought about by the use of machinery and the increase in absolute surplus labor.

The inordinately long work day is only part of the time spent by a worker in connection with his work for an employer. The latter also includes the time which the worker needs to get from home to work and from work home. Yet owing to the vastness of the territories of industrial cities and the insufficient development of public transport and its expense, the worker frequently has to make journeys taking 3 hours both ways. Thus the time connected with work often takes up 14-15 hours of the day. Naturally, under these conditions it is difficult for the worker to struggle for an improvement in his situation. For this reason limitation of the work day is "a preliminary condition, without which all subsequent attempts to improve the workers' situation and emancipate them are doomed to fail.... It is essential both for the restoration of the health and physical strength of the working class, which constitutes the backbone of each people, and for affording the workers opportunities for intellectual development, friendly intercourse among themselves and social and political activity" (6).

The pernicious consequences of unduly protracted labor are intensified by the tendency for employers to economize on the workers' labor protection. Industrial injury in the "formal sector" of the economy is particularly great. Some 25,000 workers die from accidents here annually. The likelihood of a fatal accident in Africa is 3-5 times higher than in the industrial countries. But even this is not all. There are frequent instances of serious injury without legal consequences, many of which are accompanied by serious mutilation. Of the 10 million workers employed in the "formal sector," such accidents annually befall over 1 million.

Besides personal injury, tremendous damage to the health of African workers is caused by occupational illness, which, as a rule, is not recorded by statistics inasmuch as there are usually no periodic medical examinations and regular checkups on employees' state of health in industrial production. This illness includes respitory ailments caused by dust at cotton-cleaning and textile enterprises, at strip mines and in pits and in cement and asbestos production; acute and chronic poisoning at the time of the use of chemicals in agriculture; acute and chronic poisoning by toxic gases, smoke and vapor in various sectors of manufacturing industry and also ailments caused by excessive noise and heat in metal-working, glass and textile industry, at sawmills and so forth. In the opinion of some specialists, the damage caused by ailments is greater than the consequences of industrial injury. As the authors of the report rightly emphasize, "the risk to health is increased by the inordinate length of the work day, in connection with which harmful pressures are prolonged and, it may be said, the frequency and seriousness of industrial injury are growing. To this may be added the low standard of work conditions" (7).

Even at large-scale enterprises insufficient attention is paid to the instruction of the workers in safety equipment and, particularly, compliance

with the rules connected with it. If, on the other hand, the corresponding briefings are conducted from time to time, the results are negligible. And this is not surprising since the management is concerned for a growth of profits, disregarding the workers' safety. This negligence leads to the protective clothing for the workers and the appropriate accessories, even if available, rarely being used, and they are frequently ineffective.

Even more unsatisfactory is the state of work conditions at the medium-sized enterprises (the report calls them small-scale enterprises of the "formal sector" of the economy, but since, besides them, there are even smaller plants in the "informal sector" we consider it more correct to describe them as medium-sized), at which the majority of factory workers is employed. "Work conditions and worker safety at the majority of such plants," the authors of the report write, "may be described as bad. The premises frequently do not correspond to their purpose or have been built in the European manner with galvanized roofs, which, given this climate, creates within the premises almost intolerable heat.... The buildings are seldom maintained in the proper condition. The workshops are frequently neglected, which is a cause of accidents: the conditions of the storage of machinery and equipment leave much to be desired. The workplaces are surrounded by litter. Materials which are to hand and which are stored lie around in disorder. Any attempts to make things look as they should are more the exception than the rule. The toilets and washrooms are in an unsatisfactory state. If they exist, they are always in a rundown condition owing to inadequate cleaning and careless maintenance" (8).

The intensity of operations in woodwork and metal working is such that modern machinery is serviced by a few workers. Under these conditions the possibility of workers' contact with moving parts which are life-threatening is great, which leads to frequent instances of personal injury. Measures to prevent occupational illness are totally lacking at the majority of factories. Yet various explosive, caustic and toxic chemicals and sometimes radioactive chemicals are employed extensively at many of them. As the report emphasizes, the owners of such enterprises "are paying insufficient attention to measures to protect the workers' health, considering them an expensive luxury" (9).

To judge by the report, at the biggest mines, where the costs of training workers are great and problems of finding trained personnel arise, safety measures are adopted in one way or another inasmuch as otherwise the employers would incur big costs in replenishing the labor force. It is a different situation at mines where the workers number less than 500. Such mines are usually located far from the economic centers. Work conditions at them are bad. Safety measures are lacking. There is no medical assistance, and there is not even transport to take the worker to hospital should he sustain an injury.

Work conditions are serious at small enterprises of the "informal sector" also. Here also there are industries in which a worker's health could be damaged. But there is, naturally, no protection here. The work day is inordinately long. Thus in Freetown 65 percent of workers works 8-12 hours per day, and 27 percent, 12 hours a day. In Lagos the work day is 9 hours for 92 percent of persons employed in the "informal sector".

It is in plants of this sector that child labor is employed particularly extensively. Many children work in crafts production, trade and services, where they are used to run errands and as messengers and also when the products are being sold. "Child labor," the authors of the report write, "could have a very calamitous impact on the child's health and physical and mental development. There are well-known instances of children working excessive hours daily, sometimes in hazardous conditions.... The long hours of work could lead to a serious discrepancy between energy expended and its replenishment, in connection with which there is a lowered resistance of the organism to debilitating disease and reduced life expectancy" (10).

In agriculture workers employed at processing enterprises are subject to accidents and occupational illness just the same as whose working at factories and plants. The labor of field workers is physically hard and gives rise to excessive strain, particularly in planting by hand, tree felling, trenching and the carrying of heavy loads. And the strain and overloads in performing this work are growing, what is more, owing to the primitive implements of labor which the workers are forced to use. Piece-rate pay exerts an appreciable influence on the lengthening of the work day. In order to obtain pitiful pennies the workers take no notice of the time they have worked. The length of the work day is also influenced by the journey from home to place of work and back. At the big plantations such distances are particularly great, but the owners provide no transport for their workmen.

Although national legislation and collective-bargaining agreements provide in the rest areas (at the time of work breaks) for water supply, the erection of shelters against the sun and rain and also sanitary arrangements, there is none of this in practice. There are very few mess halls even.

Where machinery is used, industrial injury accompanied by legal issues are great. Given the use of tractors on a farm, there is a fatality for every 5 vehicles. Accidents occur both when tractors are in motion and when they are used as power installations. Industrial injury is also great when work is being performed with various agricultural mechanisms and also during the lifting and movement of freight.

Women's work conditions are particularly hard. Their proportion of wage workers is seldom in excess of 20 percent, and in many countries, less than 10 percent. However, the numbers of working women are growing constantly. Thus, according to the data of a survey conducted in Ivory Coast, the proportion of women among unskilled workers increased from 22.3 percent in 1971 to 48 percent in 1976. Women's labor is employed mainly in the least prestigious work, where work conditions are particularly bad. Their duties are connected with the least responsibility and the least opportunities for advancement in the job and the development of capabilities. The operations which they perform are simple and include the same repetitive movements demanding speed and savvy, which leads to overstrain. But women's work day does not end here. Having worked 8 hours and more for the sake of paltry earnings, they are forced to continue to toil for 5-6 hours doing housework.

The adduced facts testify that current work conditions are having a ruinous effect on African workers' health and leading to mass personal injury and

occupational illness. Life insistently demands effective social control over their conditions of work connected with a curbing of the capitalists' insane thirst to derive the maximum profit. As the history of the development of world capitalism shows, this is a perfectly attainable goal. But its realization will ultimately depend on the efforts of the working class itself.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Sixth African Regional Conference. Tunis, October 1983. Report III. Conditions of Work and Working Environment," Geneva.

2. Ibid., p 7.

3. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 23, p 405.

4. "Sixth African Regional Conference...," p 15.

5. Ibid., p 11.

6. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 16, p 196.

7. "Sixth African Regional Conference...," p 18.

8. Ibid., p 19.

9. Ibid., p 20.

10. Ibid., p 49.

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AFANASYEV EMPHASIZES NEED FOR 'NEW THINKING' IN NUCLEAR AGE

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 (signed to press 3 Mar 87) pp 169-173

[Article by V.G. Afanasyev: "The New Political Thinking"]

[Text] The most acute problem confronting mankind today is that of war and peace. It is not in itself new: wars have always been "companions" of mankind. Scholars have calculated that in the 4,000 years-plus of recorded history only approximately 300 years of these have been completely peaceful. The rest of the time in a larger or smaller region of the world some people have been waging war against others. Up to the present century these were local wars--limited in terms of territory and the number of states participating. This type of war continues today also (the undeclared war against Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war and so forth).

The 20th century engendered a new type of wars--world wars--in which dozens of countries and tens of millions of people participate. Mankind has experienced two such wars. In the first 38 states participated, 74 million men were mobilized, 10 million were killed and 20 million were wounded and shell-shocked. In the second there were 72 participating states, upto 110 million men were put under arms and total human losses amounted to 55 million.

The specter of a new world war--a monstrous, thermonuclear war--hovers in the air of our day. This is not a specter even but a real danger. The weapons for waging such a war exist--piles of nuclear weapons. There are also people capable of detonating these piles. It is a question of the darkest forces of imperialist reaction. If this war erupts, it will in all probability be the last war. Human civilization and, evidently, everything living on Earth will perish in the incinerating nuclear flame and in the all-destroying blast wave from the lethal radioactive poison.

To be or not to be for mankind--this is a far from Hamlet question. How to solve the problem of war and peace in favor of peace, how to preserve peace and ensure the progress of society and man? Very, very complex questions.

For an answer to these questions the former "prenuclear," "prespace" thinking in politics is no use. New political thinking corresponding to the contemporary historical conditions is needed here.

V.I. Lenin was at the source of this thinking. The basis thereof is Lenin's principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Lenin was profoundly convinced that socialism would sooner or later be victorious throughout the world. But this victory cannot be accomplished simultaneously, all at once in all countries. Depending on the degree of development of the economy, degree of seriousness of the class struggle, the correlation of social forces and also other conditions, some countries arrive at socialism earlier than others. Proceeding from this, Lenin concluded that in the course of a lengthy historical period, when capitalist states would exist together with the socialist states, coexistence, the joint existence in the world of socialist and capitalist countries, is inevitable. Lenin was a supporter of peaceful coexistence, and the Communist Party and the Soviet state have made this Leninist principle the basis of relations with capitalist countries.

Peaceful coexistence presupposes a renunciation of war and the use and threat of force as means of settling contentious issues and their solution by way of negotiations; noninterference in the internal affairs and consideration for the legitimate interests of one another; the right of peoples to independently dispose of their fate; strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and the inviolability of their borders; cooperation based on complete equality and mutual benefit; conscientious compliance with the commitments ensuing from the generally recognized principles and rules of international law and from concluded international treaties.

V.I. Lenin lived and worked and thought and struggled when science was taking just the first steps along the path of penetration of the secrets of the atom, and its nucleus was still a mystery under seven seals. The nuclear danger which now hovers over mankind did not exist.

Since V.I. Lenin, particularly in recent decades, the historical situation has changed fundamentally. We have entered the nuclear-space age. A nuclear monster has been created, and with it mankind itself has found itself in tremendous danger. History itself has set theory and practice a fundamental task: how to preserve peace and prevent a nuclear conflagration and how, without closing our eyes to social, political and ideological contradictions, to master the science and art of behaving with restraint and circumspection in the international arena and living in civilized manner, that is, under the conditions of correct international intercourse and cooperation. The CPSU has accomplished this task. The concept of new political thinking corresponds to the questions which have just been raised.

Its basic ideas and premises are contained in the material of the 27th CPSU Congress. The modern world has become too small and fragile for wars and power politics, the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the congress observed. The world has become fragile inasmuch as it could disintegrate like a nut from a strike by a small number even of stockpiled nuclear bombs. The world has become small inasmuch as delivery systems have been created which are capable of delivering these bombs to any corner of the world in a matter of minutes. "It cannot be saved and preserved," the report says, "unless there is a break--decisive and irreversible--with the way of thinking and acting

which for centuries were constructed on the acceptability and permissibility of wars and armed conflicts."

The renunciation of wars and power politics in the age of the atomic nucleus and space is the main premise of the concept of the new political thinking. This concept has been further developed in subsequent party documents and the speeches of the general secretary of the Central Committee. A big contribution to its development was made by the material and speeches of M.S. Gorbachev during his visit to India.

The concept of new political thinking means an in-depth and unprejudiced understanding of the nuclear-space realities of our time, an understanding that:

in our day, when weapons which have made the existence of mankind itself questionable have been created, the question can only be: coexistence or nonexistence. It is thus a matter not only of the competition and opposition of the two social systems but of a choice between survival and mutual annihilation;

the most complex problems, profound disagreements and conflicts of the present-day world may be solved not by means of science and technology and, even less, by way of military power and the force of arms but only politically, by way of negotiations;

differences in the social and political system and ideology and national, cultural and other singularities are not a barrier to dialogue in the name of peace. Not forgoing its national pride, interests and values one iota, each people and each country are obliged to know how to direct them toward the achievement of the main goal--the salvation of human civilization;

it is inconceivable that a nuclear war could be won, it could have no victors and no vanquished;

ideas concerning the achievement of military superiority are untenable and chimerical;

space belongs to all mankind, and its use by anyone for military purposes is inhumane and unlawful;

in order to survive mankind must prevent the militarization of space and eliminate nuclear weapons on Earth;

all countries of the world are interconnected and interdependent, all people live on one planet, whose name is Earth;

all countries, peoples and states--big, medium and small--must participate in the building of peace and dependable security;

the security of some countries cannot be ensured at the expense of others, security can only be equal, mutual and all-embracing--international security; there is one world, and its security is indivisible;

priority now needs to be given to human values inasmuch as the world belongs to man and the present and future generations;

human life should be recognized as the highest value inasmuch as man alone is the creator of the material and spiritual values at the disposal of society, and his creative genius alone secures progress and civilization under the conditions of peace.

While giving priority to general values and human life and championing a nonviolent world the CPSU is by no means abandoning a party- and class-minded approach to social processes and to wars. The main goal of the CPSU was and remains the ultimate goal of the working class--the building of communism. The CPSU supports the international workers, communist and national liberation movements and is conducting an implacable ideological struggle against its class enemy.

Marxists are not pacifists, they consider just--defensive and liberation--wars natural and logical.

The CPSU and the Soviet state engage in their practical deeds on the international scene strictly guided by the principles of the new political thinking. The preservation and consolidation of peace and the reduction in and then complete elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation--such is their principal foreign policy task. It could not be otherwise, after all, peace, as V.I. Lenin said, is the ideal of socialism. We need peace particularly urgently now inasmuch as it is only under the conditions of peace that the far-reaching programs of reconstruction and an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development can be accomplished.

The party is exerting the maximum efforts to achieve this goal--the preservation of peace.

The program of the building of a nuclear-free world advanced by M.S. Gorbachev in the 15 January 1986 statement is imbued with a sense of tremendous responsibility for the fate of mankind and its survival. Acting by stages and consistently, as of 1986, which was declared by the United Nations the International Year of Peace, implementing and completing a process of the deliverance of the Earth from nuclear weapons has been possible, given, naturally, the complete renunciation of the creation of assault arms in space. If this program is accepted, it would take only 15 years to implement it and greet the third millennium without the threat of "nuclear winter" and under clear skies which would not be invaded by deadly nuclear clouds. But the tremendous efforts of governments, parties, all peace-loving forces and all peoples and states are needed for this. The program provides for the complete elimination of chemical weapons and the industrial base of their manufacture itself and also a reduction in conventional arms and armed forces.

Important disarmament initiatives were presented at the 27th CPSU Congress. The CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the congress expressed a proposal concerning the creation of an all-embracing system of international

security and showed the fundamental bases of such a system in the military, political, economic and humanitarian spheres.

Exceptionally great, if not to say key, significance in the business of disarmament is attached to the question of a moratorium on all nuclear explosions. Its positive solution would put an end to the qualitative upgrading of nuclear weapons and initiate a reduction therein. It is necessary ultimately to stop and have done with the pointless and extremely dangerous nuclear arms race!

Clearly recognizing this, on 6 August 1986 (on this day 40 years previously the Americans dropped the atom bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima) the Soviet Union announced a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions. This moratorium was extended repeatedly in the hope that the United States would follow our example. It did not. On the contrary, approximately three dozen nuclear devices were exploded in vaults of the Nevada Desert during the time the moratorium was in effect.

October 1986, Reykjavik. Accords of historic importance were achieved here. A world without nuclear weapons appeared not to be a mirage but a close reality which could be entered the next day even, were the two sides to have the desire and responsibility. But the reality did not come to be owing to the notorious SDI, of which the occupant of the White House is literally clinging hold.

True to the spirit of Reykjavik, the Soviet Union considers it a starting point from which in the business of disarmament it is necessary to proceed further, toward the reduction and complete elimination of nuclear weapons and the nonmilitarization of space. Convincing testimony to the endeavor to implement in practice the principles of the new political thinking is the Delhi declaration on the principles of a nonviolent world free of nuclear weapons which was signed on 27 November 1986 by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Gandhi.

The building of this world, the declaration says, requires specific and immediate measures aimed at disarmament; it may be achieved by way of the conclusion of agreements concerning:

the complete destruction of nuclear arsenals before the end of the current century;

prevention of any weapon being put into space, which is the common property of mankind;

a complete ban on nuclear weapons testing;

a ban on the creation of new types of weapons of mass annihilation;

a ban on chemical weapons and the destruction of stockpiles thereof;

a reduction in the level of conventional arms and armed forces.

Until nuclear weapons have been eliminated, the Soviet Union and India proposed the conclusion of an international convention banning the use or threat of nuclear weapons.

There are still many difficulties in the way of realization of these proposals, after all, the leaders of the United States and certain other Western countries are unwilling to think and act in policy in the new way and are clinging to the impracticable idea of the achievement of military superiority. True, they speak the good and necessary words from time to time. We would recall in this connection Geneva in November 1985. There the U.S. President agreed that "nuclear war must never be unleashed, it could have no winners." The joint Soviet-American statement emphasized the importance of the prevention of any war--nuclear or conventional--and expressed the aspiration "to prevent an arms race in space and halt it on Earth, limit and reduce nuclear arms and strengthen strategic stability."

Prudent words. It was these words which summoned into being the "spirit of Geneva," a spirit of hope. It seemed that fresh warming breezes were blowing and that our planet would become warmer. However, this did not happen inasmuch as these words remained for the U.S. President just words. He engaged in and continues to engage in deeds, on the other hand, contrary to the interests of peace and the peoples' security. The implementation of unprecedented military programs, the feverish efforts to realize the SDI plans, nuclear testing in a hurry, one exceeding of the limits determined by the SALT II Treaty after another, the deployment of Lance missiles in South Korea, the preparation for war against Nicaragua and the barbaric raid on Libya--such is a far from complete list of these deeds, which are very far removed from the ideals of peace and humanity. Truly militarist insanity has enveloped the transatlantic globalists and claimants to world domination. They are altogether unwilling to abandon the long-failed proposition that it is only possible to talk to the USSR from a position of strength.

The Soviet Union is a powerful, proud and great country which will never forgo its independence and will never permit diktat in respect of itself.

...Prudence and insanity are primordial antipodes of history. It has happened that insanity has gained the ascendancy over prudence. But this has been a temporary triumph of recklessness. Ultimately prudence has triumphed. It has to be thought that it will triumph of this occasion also. Mankind will not allow itself to be exterminated.

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PROCESS OF MARXIST-CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE IN LATIN AMERICA VIEWED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 (signed to press 3 Mar 87) pp 181-186

[Article by S.V. Deryugin: "Latin America: Development of Dialogue of Marxists and Christians"]

[Text] We have before us a book entitled "Fidel and Religion," which contains a transcript of Fidel Castro's conversation with the Brazilian theologian and Dominican friar Frei Betto, which was held at the initiative of the latter (1). "The profoundly believing Catholic figure and the communist leader well known for the inflexibility of his principles," Armando Hart, minister of culture of the Republic of Cuba, writes in a foreword, "discover a theme for a wide-ranging discussion" (p 9). Indeed, Fidel, for example, at the request of his companion, describes his career and spiritual development and the relations of the socialist Cuban state and the church; questions of the role of the church in Latin America and in Europe, problems of the Latin American continent and the developing countries as a whole and, finally, such urgent present-day topics as the struggle to prevent nuclear war, against the arms race and for the consolidation and strengthening of peace throughout the world are touched on in the course of the conversation.

The very tone and nature of the conversation, primarily the high degree of mutual understanding and agreement of its participants in respect of issues of mutual interest are noteworthy. Fidel expresses, for example, his thoughts concerning common aspects in the ethics of the Christian and in the ethics of the revolutionary, the Marxist. "Love"--this important category of Christian ethics--may be expressed in social terms as solidarity, as the spirit of fraternity, he observes. However, there can be no fraternity--for there can be no equality--between the millionaire and, say, the poor and unemployed. Class hatred is not a creation of Marxism, which discovered the laws of the class struggle and the development of human society, it is engendered by the exploitation of man and his humiliation, man's marginal situation and social injustice. For the Marxist the object of class hatred is not man but the system of exploitation and oppression (p 339 and subsequently).

Whereas, further, the church preaches a spirit of sacrifice, Fidel observes, among the moral attributes distinguishing the revolutionary is a readiness for self-sacrifice for the sake of the cause of revolution. Some 30,000 Cuban

teachers, for example, have voluntarily set off for Nicaragua to help eliminate the illiteracy of the population, considering this their international duty, and the conditions of the work in this country, furthermore, which is the target of an undeclared aggressive war on the part of imperialism, have been extraordinarily difficult (p 258).

The Christian's acceptance of such analogies presupposes his active concern for the achievement of social justice, understood in the scientific-sociological sense. "...Any Christian, when he meditates, proceeding from his faith, engenders theology, but not every Christian is a theologian; ...theologians," the theologian Betto reasons, "are capable of systematizing and realizing in practice the meditations of a Christian people" (p 294). What is noteworthy here is primarily how the direction of the initial impulse is understood: not from the theologian to the people, but from the people to the theologian. To what does the "systematization" of the people's meditations lead? In Latin America, Betto is convinced, it leads to the need for an analysis of the phenomenon of poverty, for which the assistance of philosophy is insufficient; it is necessary to know the causes of the phenomenon, and the help of the social sciences is needed here, and "the contribution of Marxism" therein "has to be recognized" (p 295).

It is noted with every justification in the foreword to the book that in Latin America, which has become a seething continent on which the acute economic, social and political crisis is being reflected in all spheres of the cultural and spiritual life of the peoples, an exchange of ideas is under way between forces which until yesterday seemed incapable of understanding one another (pp 10-11). The meeting in question is a striking example of this "exchange of ideas," the author of the foreword believes. And this is undoubtedly so. The remarkable feature of this event, I believe, is that it is at the intersection, as it were, of two relatively independent, albeit increasingly interrelated, processes: the growth as of the 1960's-1970's of the Latin American peoples' liberation struggle and the formation and evolution of Catholic-left ideological currents on the continent. Each of these processes has influenced the course of the dialogue of Marxists and Christians in the direction of transition toward close practical cooperation for the purpose of solving the urgent problems of the contemporary life of the peoples.

Marxists have always declared their readiness for a dialogue with Christians. Actually, with a varying degree of intensity at different historical stages this dialogue has been conducted for many decades. Marxists proceed from the fact that the removal of philosophical disagreements cannot be either the purpose or the condition of dialogue; the subject thereof can and should be cooperation and joint struggle for the interests of the working people--believers and nonbelievers--for peace, democracy and social progress. History knows a multitude of instructive examples of such cooperation, and experience which is important and very valuable for the working masses and all democratic forces has been accumulated in this sphere.

A variety of opponents have frequently put and continue to put to Marxists the "ticklish" question: is religion no longer the "opium of the people," as Marx wrote of it? The answer is in principle perfectly clear: from the viewpoint of Marx and any Marxist-revolutionary "opium" is everything which distracts the

working person from the struggle against exploitation and oppression, in this sense, religion also. However, the Marxist conclusion concerning the distracting social function of religion and the church by no means "distracts" Marxists themselves from the problems and tasks ensuing from the incontrovertible fact that the working people--both believers (of various religious allegiances) and nonbelievers--have common class interests here, on Earth, where they live, work and struggle. And this not to mention the fact that in our era in general all people of the planet cannot fail to have a common interest in at least one thing--prevention of a nuclear apocalypse.

Generally, being in the bosom of the church does not deliver from the concerns of earthly existence either the masses of believers or the clergy itself. The latter, which by its office is called on to concern itself with the souls of "sons of the church," cannot fail to accustom itself to the "wordly" concerns of the congregation and the problems of the life and struggle of the masses, including problems of the class struggle, and this applies particularly, what is more, to those who are close precisely to the masses of believers; the process of such familiarization, although disturbing the tranquillity "within the church," cannot fail to take place, and it moves primarily and mainly from below, from life, from practice (2).

This is why, incidentally, in the course of the dialogue itself the question of the attitude toward the proposition concerning the "opium of the people" may be heard, and not necessarily as a "ticklish" question....

The development of the dialogue between Marxists and Christians in the Latin American region, while reflecting the general regularities of this process, is at the same time characterized by appreciable singularities, which have been brought about by a number of objective specific-historical factors.

What, strictly speaking, engenders here the objective prerequisites for the development of dialogue and cooperation? What creates the particularly broad field for the formulation of the common positions of communists and progressive, democratic Christians on key questions of socioeconomic and social-political life? Primarily the very scandalous social problems of the "Catholic continent," where the peoples of the majority of countries, while possessing national sovereignty and rich traditions of the revolutionary national liberation struggle, are perceiving increasingly painfully the shackles of backwardness and dependence on imperialism and aspiring increasingly persistently, in spite of the stubborn counteraction of the forces of reaction, to democracy and social progress. To the objective conditions have now been added subjective conditions of considerable importance (closely connected with the first, of course): there has been a considerable rethinking by clergymen sincerely concerned by the needs of the people's masses of their positions in the sociopolitical struggle, which has led many of them to participation in the revolutionary-liberation processes on the continent.

A most important "instance" of the practical cooperation of believers and nonbelievers, including Marxists, in the solution of urgent social problems and tasks of the struggle against poverty and imperialist domination were the "base" Christian communities uniting millions of believers which emerged in

Latin American countries. By the end of the 1970's the arena of the activity of such communities was practically the entire continent, and the total number thereof was over 200,000. They served as the ferment of the emergence of "liberation theology"--a Catholic-left current (to which Betto also belongs), which has gained authority and popularity in Latin America thanks to its clearly expressed socio-practical orientation: its supporters act primarily in defense of the poorest strata of believers. "Liberation theology" also has considerable influence at various levels of the structure of the church itself, at the same time throwing down a challenge to the doctrinal despotism of the Vatican (3).

The dialectic of the interaction of "liberation theology" and the Christian grassroots ("base") communities is profoundly logical. Having emerged from the practice of struggle of the latter, "liberation theology" is, in turn, exerting a big influence on the further development of the social and political consciousness of believers. "Liberation theology" assigns a paramount role in the liberation of the destitute masses to these masses themselves; it sees as its task here on the one hand a theoretical comprehension of the long social practice of the Christian grassroots communities and the historical experience of believers' struggle for a better life here on Earth and a diverse analysis of the life of the Latin American continent with all its complex dramatic problems demanding immediate solution and, on the other, a search for effective contacts with all progressive forces with a profound interest in a radical change in the existing system. Such tasks required a rethinking of many cardinal questions of theology, primarily a new interpretation of faith. "Liberation theologians" could no longer accept the postulate of traditional theology concerning supratemporal, metaphysical and abstract faith for such a faith, they believe, lacks an effective connection, necessary today, with believers' struggle for man's dignified life on earth.

Having put man at the forefront and addressed his problems so seriously, "liberation theology" could not overlook the attitude of revolutionaries and Marxists toward the problem of man. The book (in which "liberation theology" is a key topic) contains a chapter characteristically entitled "Paths Toward the Meeting". Betto, in particular, recalls here F. Castro's speech to clergymen in Chile in November 1971 (in the period of the Unidad Popular government), when Fidel spoke about the poverty of countries of the continent and about the fact that revolution provides man with tremendous riches--a feeling of equality, a sense of human dignity (p 16). Betto himself believes that in Latin America the dividing line should run not between Christians and Marxists but between revolutionaries and the allies of the forces of oppression. There is just one field in which a meeting between Christian and Marxist figures is conceivable: it is liberation practice. It is a question here, as Betto clarifies, not of the freedom and self-improvement of the individual in a spirit of the philosophy of personalism counterposing the individual to the masses and attempting to concretize the Christian ideal of the personality given preservation of the conditions of alienation. Some abstract personality figuring in personalist deliberations and constantly aspiring to self-perfection, he continues, is far removed from the actual people of Latin America, of Brazil, for example, which "has come to have better living conditions than the majority of the population"; for Latin

America the problem consists of the need to overcome the position of the human individual as a "nonperson" (p 294).

In connection with the Vatican's departure from the "aggiornamento" of the 1960's which is discussed in the book--and "liberation theology" undoubtedly goes to a large extent beyond even the "aggiormamento" framework--it is interesting to recall an observation made by French scholars and members of the French Communist Party leadership. They wrote back in 1972 that to the extent to which the highest clergy is unsuccessful in "inscribing within the framework of its (hierarchical and neocapitalist) vision of the world the democratic, increasingly socialist and revolutionary ideals of the strata of the people... in the bosom of the church," the "aggiornamento" itself is aimed against these ideals and their exponents. For this reason the dialogue, in the course of which the top hierarchy (which, with the exception of the most conservative senior clergy, recognizes its expediency) hopes to hold on to the masses or win new ones over even to the side of its theological and social doctrine, is becoming "a new form in which the ideological struggle is manifested" (4). Which may be said of the thrust of a "counter-aggiornamento," so to speak! It is symptomatic that in recent years the Vatican has charged "liberation theology" precisely with, inter alia, emphasizing the problem of "human welfare" to the detriment of the problem of "Christian salvation" and also recognition of the class struggle, warning against "an enthusiasm for Marxist analysis," which will allegedly inevitably lead to the adoption of "Marxist ideology" (5). Thus on the part of the top ecclesiastical hierarchy the peculiar participation in the dialogue (insofar as it has not officially been "canceled") is assuming the form of efforts aimed at keeping it within an "acceptable" framework, and this is indeed nothing other than an ideological struggle, developing "within the church," what is more.

The appeal of the "liberation theologians" to Marxism as an effective instrument of analysis of the calamitous position of the people's masses on the continent and recognition of the importance of Marxist teaching on the class struggle and the role of the people's masses in history is bringing progressive clergymen and Marxists closer together, revealing the similarity of their positions in the most important spheres of contemporary social life: economic, political and social. Observing the believing masses' participation in the revolutionary movement and the successes of real socialism and, more broadly, of the struggle of the forces of peace, democracy and social progress, the "liberation theologians" and their supporters are apprehending certain progressive ideas. They are adopting also certain political conclusions of the communists. Understandably, joint political actions also would be impossible without the community of this ideological motive or the other born of the unity of social and economic interests and a common interest in the preservation and strengthening of peace. Both communists and progressive Christians unanimously recognize that present-day Latin American reality itself is putting on the agenda the question of a transition from dialogue in the form of specially organized meetings between Marxists and Christians to a dialogue understood as close practical cooperation in the course of the liberation struggle. The relevance of this question was set off particularly clearly by the victory of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, in the crucible of which the unity of believers and nonbelievers, Marxists and Christians was forged. The Nicaraguan people rose to the armed uprising, which

swept away the hated Somoza dictatorship, in a single mighty surge, not dividing themselves into believers and nonbelievers; in addition, the believers obtained for this the blessing of the top clergy. A very pronounced role in the Sandinista revolution was performed by the local church communities, which now also remain dependable supporters of the cause of defense of the revolution (as distinct from the church hierarchy, which immediately following the victory of the revolution occupied a hostile position in respect of the Sandinista government). As a whole, the experience of Nicaragua convincingly demonstrates the possibility of the fruitful cooperation of Marxists and Christians not only at the stage of the revolutionary winning of power but also at the stage of the building of the new society.

Latin America provides graphic confirmation that religion exerts an appreciable influence on most important present-day social processes and phenomena. Religious ideas and values are a method of motivation of the social assertiveness of vast masses of people and reference points and programs of broad social movements. At the same time history testifies that religious slogans may be used by various political forces. And even now practically any religion (and Christianity is no exception) manifests examples of such differentiation. Alliance with all progressive, democratic forces is the strategic policy of the communists requiring, inter alia, the establishment in every possible way and development of a dialogue and practical cooperation between Marxists and believers. The task of the development of such cooperation is emphasized persistently by the leaders of the communist and workers parties of Latin American countries. Thus J. Rosales, member of the Argentine Communist Party Central Committee, writes evocatively: "Marx and Christ are encountered in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, in Chile and Argentina, everywhere that Christians and Marxists, with mutual respect for one another's beliefs, understand that they must act in unity and together with other democratic forces to save the world and safeguard the future" (6).

Complex, frequently contradictory processes in sociopolitical and ideological life are now occurring and new, extraordinarily significant and promising relations between Marxists and believers adhering to progressive positions are taking shape. Many ideological-theoretical questions, including ones which are relatively traditional for Marxists, being rendered topical for them by the need for the establishment of cooperation with believers under the new conditions, preserving, as before, the ideological purity and philosophical wholeness of their teaching, require more in-depth comprehension in this connection. It is a question of the possibilities of the communists' broadest and most far-reaching political cooperation with those who are their opponents in a philosophical respect, given preservation by each side of its ideological tenets and its world-outlook independence. The book in question makes it possible to elucidate more clearly and specify many such issues.

In the course of the conversation of the Cuban leader and the Brazilian Catholic-left figure their complete agreement that neither the Christian's appeal to Marxism as an arsenal of instruments for a scientific analysis of social reality nor the practical cooperation of Marxists and Christians signify any infringement of the freedom of belief of either or any CONVERSION was ascertained.

Betto's question concerning Fidel's attitude toward K. Marx's statement about religion as the "opium of the people" also was heard in this connection. The leaders of the Sandinista revolution, Betto observed, believe that this proposition should not be taken as an absolute principle abstracted from the specific historical situation. Does this signify an abandonment of the Marxist approach to religion? By no means. Fidel evaluates positively the position recorded in the document of the Sandinista revolutionary government. And this evaluation could hardly elicit any warranted objections. The Marxist understanding of religion does not in the least amount to the single and widely known pithy phrase from K. Marx's work "A Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. An Introduction". It is far richer, even if we confine ourselves to a reading of just this work or even the paragraph in which this phrase stands alongside others which are also pithy and no less important, constituting with them an inseparable unity (7), not to mention the subsequent development of Marx's thought manifested in such fundamental works as "Das Kapital" and others. In general, Marxist teaching, which is characterized by profound historical method (in the approach to the study of religion included), is by its very spirit by no means dependent upon its propositions being taken as absolute principles and tenets comprehended extra-historically.

In a specific answer to the question that was put religion as a "character" (subject) may figure, in accordance with the spirit of Marx's critique of Hegel's philosophy of law itself, not per se, in the abstract, as something self-sufficient, but in connection with the position and fate of a person and a people, given the existing social relationships, and in connection with the problems of social struggle. Nor does Fidel, in accordance with the spirit of Marxism, evade such a specific answer. "In my opinion," he says, "religion PER SE is not FROM THE POLITICAL VIEWPOINT (here and subsequently the italics are mine--S.D.) opium or a miracle-working medium. It may be opium or a miracle-working medium with regard for how it is USED: for the defense of the oppressors and exploiters or of the oppressed and exploited, in other words, seen from how it affects the political, social or material problems of man, who, regardless of theology or religious beliefs, is born and has to live in this world" (p 333).

I believe that such an answer, specific, vital and original, while preserving the constructive nature of contact in the dialogue, at the same time takes the latter sufficiently decisively from the "zone" of doctrinaire altercation on purely philosophical questions which, strictly speaking, do not pertain to the sphere of the dialogue.

Joint actions for the purpose of achieving certain social and political results should constitute and do constitute the basis of the dialogue and practical cooperation of Marxists and Christians in Latin America. The contrast of dialectical-materialist philosophy and the religious world outlook here does not preclude similarity in the evaluation of certain sociopolitical aspirations and humanitarian values such as elimination of the system of man's exploitation of man, the establishment of social equality and the condemnation of certain phenomena of modern life--mass poverty, unemployment, the huge foreign debt, the threat of nuclear war and the aggressive policy of American imperialism. The enumerated values and value principles pertain predominantly

to the sociopolitical sphere. It is this fact which signposts the direction in which the restructuring of the consciousness of Latin American believers is being accomplished: the majority of them is beginning to interpret faith in the practically effective sense; the role of political ideas--even when they appear in a religious coating--in relation to other components of religious consciousness is strengthening.

In the practical-political plane the activity of the "liberation theologians" and Christian local communities is undoubtedly contributing to an expansion of the general nature of the liberation struggle in Latin America. Inasmuch as believers constitute substantial numbers of the population there, political significance is attached to an alliance with them. The cooperation of communists and Christians in Latin America corresponds to the urgent need for the creation of a common broad anti-imperialist, democratic front. And the ascertainment of practical actions acceptable to both sides and support for this specific social transformation or the other which could contribute to the solution of fundamental problems of Latin American society are in the forefront here.

So, the alliance and cooperation of the communists and Christians are conceivable only for the purpose of implementation of a specific sociopolitical program corresponding to the vital needs of the working people, who are capable, despite philosophical disagreements, of uniting in the name of common class interests and tasks. It is appropriate to recall V.I. Lenin's well-known pronouncement on this score. "It would be absurd to believe," he wrote in December 1905, "that it is possible in a society based on the endless oppression and brutalization of the worker masses to dispel religious prejudice purely by the advocacy method. It would be bourgeois narrowness to forget that religion's oppression of humanity is merely a product and reflection of the economic repression within society. No booklets and no preaching can enlighten the proletariat if it is not enlightened by its own struggle against the dark forces of capitalism. The unity of this truly revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class for the creation of paradise on earth is more important for us than proletarians' unity of opinions concerning paradise in heaven" (8).

It is no less and, most likely, even more legitimate to speak in the same connection of the priority nature of unity in the struggle to remove the threat of the nuclear nightmare. It is noteworthy also that not only the communists but also progressive clergymen are speaking in connection with the problem of dialogue of the "opium of the peoples" which is anticommunism. With the help of the opium of anticommunism, the Mexican bishop and prominent representative of "liberation theology," Serijo Arceo Mendes, for example, declares, "U.S. President Reagan has succeeded in fooling many people, including the Congress, and compelling them to support reckless plans and the arms race, which is fraught with the danger of 'star wars'" (9).

Dialogue understood as practical political cooperation, as a form of joint political action, may be meaningful if and only if people participate in it who perceive a need for joint actions to solve urgent social and political problems and who adhere here to their own beliefs. "If we revolutionaries," F. Castro said in the conversation with Betto, "do not proceed from the fact that

you are real people of profound convictions and religious beliefs, nothing of which we have spoken would make any sense--none of the ideas which we have discussed nor the idea of alliance and unity even, as I have already spoken of this, referring to Nicaragua, between Christians and Marxists; for a real Marxist does not trust a false Christian, and a real Christian does not trust a false Marxist" (p 297) (10).

In the context of the discussion of the goals, principles, conditions, forms and content of the dialogue of Marxists and Catholics in Fidel's conversation with Betto the question which inevitably arises concerning the possibilities and conditions of the organizationally structured equal participation of Catholics in the work of the communist parties was also interpreted in a realistic and antisectarian spirit. We would recall that, considering the specifics of the continent, on which broad masses of Catholics participate in the revolutionary struggle, the communist and workers parties of Latin American countries have recorded in their program documents the provision that Catholics may be members of these parties (11). The presence of this clause creates conditions particularly conducive to the practical cooperation of believers and nonbelievers, although at the same time confronts Marxist parties with the difficult question, not amenable to a simple solution, of the philosophical differences between their members. V.I. Lenin once showed that such a question does not have a simple solution. "It cannot be declared once for all and for all conditions," he wrote in 1909, "that clergymen cannot be members of a social democratic party, but nor can the reverse rule be posted once for all. If a clergyman comes to us for joint political work and performs conscientious party work, not opposing the party program, we may admit him to the ranks of the social democrats for the contradiction between the spirit and principles of our program and the clergyman's religious beliefs could be, given such conditions, his personal contradiction concerning only him, and a political organization cannot examine its members as regards the absence of a contradiction between their views and the party program" (12). Of course, the political position of communists in respect of the church and believers must, aside from all else, take into consideration the specific situation in each country, from national singularities and traditions through the position occupied by each church, on social problems particularly.

Following the publication of the book "Fidel and Religion" there has been a pronounced increase in "liberation theology" on the part of the communist and workers parties of Latin America. A whole number of publications has appeared in their newspapers and journals (13). This growing interest is perfectly logical for "liberation theology" represents a serious ideological manifestation of the liberation process on the Latin American continent. It was not fortuitous that, speaking of the great interest in the book displayed by the clergy of his country, R. Padilla Rush, general secretary of the Communist Party of Honduras, emphasized in the course of a conversation in the editorial office of the journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA (14): "As far as we communists are concerned, we believe that the time has come when the party has to have well-trained personnel in the field of religion."

The extensive and meaningful dialogue between Marxists and Christians and the practical cooperation between them which have been developing in Latin America in recent years "are an expression of the changes occurring in the world and

of that which is new and progressive, to which impetus is being imparted by the worker and revolutionary movement," J. Rosales writes. Striking testimony to this is the book "Fidel and Religion". It is with good reason that it has quickly run to dozens of editions in various Latin American countries.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Fidel y la religion. Conversaciones con Frei Betto," Oficina de publicaciones del Consejo de Estado, Havana, 1985, pp 381.

2. "The waves of world history are carrying with them the masses and not high-ranking persons since they are too highly placed" (L. Feuerbach, "Essence of Christianity," Moscow, 1965, p 29).

3. For more detail see, for example, V.M. Pasik, "'Liberation Theology' (Latin American Radical Version)," VOPROSY FILOSOFII No 1, 1985; L.D. Khodorkovskiy, "The Vatican and the Social Issue in the 1980's (Certain Trends of the Social Policy of the Present Pontificate)," RK i SM No 4, 1984; A.C. Popov, A.A. Radugin, "Struggle of Trends in Catholic Theology," LATINSKAYA AMERIKA No 1, 1987.

4. R. Leroy, A. Casanova, A. Moine, "Les marxistes et l'evolution du monde catholique," Paris, 1972, p 52.

5. See L.D. Khodorkovskiy, Op. cit., ppp 131, 135.

6. J. Rosales, "Christo y/o Marx? Los comunistas y la religion," Buenos Aires, 1985, p 296.

7. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 2, p 415.

8. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 12, p 146.

9. S. Arceo Mendes, "Being an Anticommunist Means Being an Anti-Christian," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA NO 9, 1986, pp 80-81.

10. Irreconcilable theoretical disagreements are not an obstacle to the development of dialogue and cooperation and the establishment of unity of action; in addition, a scientific comprehension of the laws of social development and the social roots of the ideology removing sectarian discord and possible only from the standpoints of consistent materialism--precisely this is "one of the best assurances which we can give Christians," French Marxist scholars wrote (R. Leroy et al., op. cit., p 17).

11. See "Program Documents of Communist and Workers Parties of America," Mocow, 1962.

12. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 17, p 421.

13. See, for example, C. Gutierrez, "El fenomeno de la Teologia de Liberacion" in PARTIDO COMUNISTA DE CHILE. BOLETIN DEL EXTERIOR No 77, Mar-Apr 1986, p 78.

14. LATINSKAYA AMERIKA No 7, 1986.

15. J. Rosales, Op. cit., p 187.

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BOOK ON DEVELOPMENT OF USSR WORKERS IN 1960'S-1970'S REVIEWED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 (signed to press 3 Mar 87) pp 187-188

[V.Z. Drobizhev, S.A. Pogodin review: "The USSR Working Class Yesterday and Today"]

[Text] In the light of the strategic policy of the renovation and restructuring of all spheres of the life of Soviet society adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress particular relevance is attached to social scientists' work on study of the problems of the development and activity of the working class as the principal productive force of society and its leading social force. Life itself is setting the task of an increasingly in-depth elucidation of the objective trends of the development of the contemporary Soviet multinational working class in their close logical connection with the trends and requirements of social and S&T progress. For the intensification of the economy and the introduction of technical achievements are most closely attended by changes in the structure of production, the content and nature of labor and the job list and thereby in the quantitative proportions of various detachments of the working class and their qualitative composition. Growing significance is attached also to an analysis of the problems connected with a stimulation of the human factor, the utmost development of the initiative and creativity of the masses and the quest for forms and conditions of the working people's more effective participation in the solution of key questions of social life and the management of the state and production.

All this explains the interest which greeted the appearance of the book in question.* Attention to it has been brought about also by the fact that it is written in the relatively new genre of historico-sociological research, in which the data of specially organized sociological polls form together with traditional historical sources the empirical base, and the procedural principle is a stadial analysis of the processes in question. It is this approach to study of the recent past--the history of the USSR working class in the 1960's-1970's--which has been made the basis of E.V. Klopov's monograph.

It is even more important that this well-balanced and skilled historical study contributes to an elucidation, first, of the fact that the creative potential of the USSR working class intensified rapidly and appreciably in the 1960's-1970's and, second, that it was realized insufficiently fully, which reflected

also negative phenomena in the country's socioeconomic development, which were discussed at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The book describes comprehensively and fully the theoretical and procedural prerequisites of an analysis of the history and contemporary development of the working class. Particular attention is paid in accordance with the teaching of the founders of the theory of scientific communism to a description of the objective and subjective prerequisites of its leading positions in the revolutionary transformation of the world and disclosure of the dialectics of the growth of the role of the working class in the building of the new society.

In order to show more graphically the nature of the quantitative and qualitative changes of the working class which occurred in the 1960's-1970's the author compares indicators reflecting the specifics of the composition and activity of various groups and strata of the leading class of Soviet society. In the mass of empirical information which E.V. Klopov employs a particular part is played by sociological sources. It is the in-depth analysis of all groups of sources which permits the profound and full study, as V.I. Lenin put it, of the "connection" and "mediation" of the analyzed process.

The author not only avails himself of the results of sociological surveys conducted by other scholars (or research groups); he himself organized special polls in accordance with the program of research which he had undertaken. The book uses the results of surveys carried out by associates and graduate students of the USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD Department for Study and Forecasting of the Development of the Working Class in Socialist Countries in the 1970's and at the start of the 1980's, in the course of which over 10,000 workers and approximately 3,000 engineering-technical personnel and office workers of practically all sectors of social production were polled. At the same time the author--and this is perfectly reasonable--does not overestimate the heuristic value of this type of sources, and the book makes full use, together with them, of well-known, sufficiently rich publications of the state statistical authorities; methods of mathematical statistics were employed in processing them for an adequate interpretation of the statistical information.

This entire mass of data is analyzed in the context of the general processes of the improvement of socialism in the USSR.

On this basis the book ascertains and objectively interprets both the growth of the leading role of the working class and unsolved problems, which is important for elucidation of the ways and means of stimulation of the activity of all detachments, groups and strata of the working class and its increased influence on the nature and pace of social progress. It was important here to show--and the author did this successfully--in systemic connection the main features of the social history of the USSR working class. The analysis of factual material makes it possible to trace such of these as the slowing of the pace of the quantitative growth of the working class given a simultaneous expansion of the sphere of its practical activity; upgrading of the occupational-skills structure in connection with the realization of the transition to scientific-industrial production; and the achievement of a fundamentally new level of the culture and well-being of the worker masses

higher than at the start of the period in question. Great interest in this connection is evoked also by the analysis of a number of significant contradictions (for example, the acceleration of the rate of improvement of the general educational and vocational training of worker personnel given a decelerated pace of the reduction in the sphere of manual, semiskilled labor; and the discrepancy between the systematically growing overall level of the workers' real income and the degree of satisfaction of many material and social requirements).

In connection with the study of the mechanism of reproduction of the working class and the main sources of the growth of its ranks the book investigates the ways of the formation of its new replenishment and the conditions contributing to the enhanced socio-occupational status of the workers. Certain forms of reproduction of the working class unsuitable to the conditions of its development and the tasks of its activity as the leading force of the improvement of socialism are revealed also in the course of this analysis.

As a whole, the successful accomplishment of the set research tasks enabled the author to show the USSR working class as a dynamic social group, which is interacting with other classes and social strata of Soviet society and actively influencing their social and ideological-political development. It is in this interaction that the classless social structure of the developed socialist society is gradually taking shape and the process of the extension of its social homogeneity is acquiring real outlines.

The monograph describes the potential reserves of growth of the social assertiveness of Soviet workers in the sphere of social production, management of state and social affairs and in the sphere of the consumption of material benefits and introduction to spiritual values, leisure and recreation, family life and interpersonal intercourse. Taking as a basis a large amount of factual material, the author convincingly substantiates the conclusion that "granted all the achievements in the intensification of the sociopolitical assertiveness of the USSR working class in the 1960's-1970's, neither the scale of participation in managerial activity nor the rate of its increase fully corresponded to the possibilities and requirements of the Soviet society which had embarked on the stage of developed socialism" (p 213). The indication as a reason (with reference to the 1970's) of the slowing of the rate of transition of the economy to predominantly economic management methods seems entirely justified. Need it be proved that the possibilities of the workers' participation in the formulation and realization of managerial decisions, the object of which is the production process, are particularly great when cost accounting principles form the basis of these decisions.

The book interprets no less thoroughly the experience of socialist competition and reveals the difficulties, shortcomings and oversights in its organization. Serious thought-provoking instances are adduced of, for example, as the results of sociological surveys testify, almost half of the workers at a number of enterprises who participated in competition not knowing the results of their performance of their duties and, even less, the obligations of their competition partners. It shows that in the shock workers of communist labor movement much was allowed to take its own course.

The book uses a large amount of statistical material characterizing workers' assertiveness in the sphere of social and political control. E.V. Klopov pays particular attention here to the activity of workers in the ranks of the CPSU. Unfortunately, not all aspects of this important subject have been comprehensively illustrated. The participation of progressive workers in CPSU congresses and the work of the party Central Committee could have been described more fully. The author had at his disposal diverse factual material describing the activity of workers in the soviets of all levels. However, the book illustrates this subject too briefly.

The analysis of workers' social life in the 1960's-1970's is of particular interest. The book in question is one of the few studies in which this subject has been so thoroughly illustrated. It is to be regretted, however, that the author did not enlist the results of the research of social anthropologists, who have collected and collated quite a large amount of factual material on the present-day workers' social life.

A logical conclusion to the entire study is the analysis of the essential features of the present-day Soviet worker and how they are manifested in the social character of the leading workers.

E.V. Klopov's book is historiographical in its very essence. On the basis of a thorough study of all available literature the author concentrates attention on the problems which demand scholars' greatest efforts. As a whole, it may be said that the work in question provides a comprehensive illustration of the life and activity of the leading class of Soviet society at the current stage.

FOOTNOTE

* E.V. Klopov, "Rabochiy klass SSSR. (Tendentsii razvitiya v 60-70-e gody)" [The USSR Working Class (Development Trends in the 1960's-1970's)], Moscow, "Mysl", 1985, pp 336.

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BOOK ON CAPITALISM-LABOR CONTRADICTIONS REVIEWED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 (signed to press 3 Mar 8) p 189

[A.I. Belchuk review of T.T. Timofeyev book]

[Text] Among the as yet relatively few monographical works which have replenished literature on socioeconomic and sociopolitical subjects since the 27th CPSU Congress, attention is attracted to T.T. Timofeyev's book "Exacerbation of the Contradictions of Capitalism and the Working People".*

Its scientific content is characterized by a very extensive envelopment of the problems and processes of the socioeconomic and social-political life of contemporary bourgeois society. From an analysis of the social consequences of S&T progress under the conditions of capitalism to an interpretation of the new phenomena in the development of the working people's antiwar movement--such is the thematic range of the study. An appreciable place therein is occupied by an illustration of various aspects of the ideological struggle, primarily pertaining to the question of the essence of the upheavals experienced by capitalism in the 1970's-1980's and the role of the working class in social development under the new conditions. The problems touched on in the book, granted the wideness of their spectrum, are united by one common feature--their relevance and urgency in the most telling meaning of the word. For these are the pressing problems which are now being encountered by the working class and its organizations. The seriousness and importance of the questions raised in the book are in this sense successfully supplemented by the freshness of the material used: the author is hot on the trail of events, so to speak.

I would like to make particular mention of the thorough scientific critique of the concept of the "deproletarianization" of the working class and the analysis of the contradictoriness and ambiguity of the processes characterizing the evolution of the strike struggle of the working people and also the impact of the new stage of the S&T revolution on employment, the structure of wage labor and the organization of its use.

The book is distinguished by an abundance of statistical material. The reader acquires, in addition, a sound idea of a very extensive range of literature, the latest included, on various viewpoints and interesting international

debate on the problems in question. And such material is not simply adduced, what is more, but thoroughly analyzed also.

It may be concluded that Soviet socioeconomic literature has been supplemented with an interesting and useful monograph which investigates the trends of the class struggle and a number of other problems of capitalist reality, study of which is put in the material of the 27th CPSU Congress among the priority directions in social scientists' research.

FOOTNOTE

* T.T. Timofeyev, "Obostreniye protivorechiy kapitalizma i trudyashchiyesya. Problemy polozheniya i borby rabochego klassa v usloviyakh ugublenia obshchego krizisa kapitalizma" [Exacerbation of the Contradictions of Capitalism and the Working People. Problems of the Position and Struggle of the Working Class Under the Conditions of the Intensification of the General Crisis of Capitalism], Moscow, "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya", 1986, pp 286.

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BOOK ON HISTORY OF FRENCH LABOR ORGANIZATION REVIEWED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 (signed to press 3 Mar 87) pp 189-190

[V.G. Rupets book review]

[Text] Profizdat has published the first special monographical work in Soviet scientific literature which, albeit briefly, familiarizes us with the history of the French CGT from the time it was founded in September 1985 (sic) through our day.* While by nature of the way in which it was written to some extent a typical popular science and anniversary publication (it was published on the eve of the 90th anniversary of the CGT), the book accomplishes in sufficiently professional manner (particularly in the historical respect) the task formulated by the authors: "...providing an integral idea of the historical path trodden by the CGT, showing the permanent significance of its accumulated experience of class struggle and revealing the key directions of its multifaceted activity in defense of the interests of French working people" (p 7).

The CGT was conceived and formed in the atmosphere of the culminating transition of French capitalism to a higher, monopoly, stage, and this atmosphere was characterized by an offensive of capital endeavoring to secure the best conditions of the exploitation of wage workers and simultaneously an upsurge of the workers movement, which was conducting a persevering struggle against the onslaught of capitalism and its allies, relying on the first professional organizations of the proletariat, which were being formed everywhere. An important part in the strengthening of the union movement was played by the Workers Party formed in 1879-1880 by J. (Ged) and P. Lafargue. It was largely thanks to its efforts that the CGT was formed in September 1985. The CGT joined vigorously in the class struggle and participated most actively in the strike movement and a variety of actions of international solidarity (a specific manifestation thereof were the protests in support of the 1905-1907 Russian revolution) and in the struggle against militarism and the growing threat of world war.

True, the revolutionary current within the confederation, which was squeezed out by a coalition of anarcho-syndicalists and reformists, lacked sufficiently strong positions for ensuring that the CGT realize its militant potential in full. But in the period of WWI even anarcho-syndicalism was noticeably losing

its influence in the masses, and there occurred in the workers movement, as V.I. Lenin wrote, "a slow, but sure turn to the left and a shift in the direction of the revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action of the working class" ("Complete Works," vol 38, p 297).

The Great October accelerated this process sharply. The revolutionary current in France's workers movement, whose influence was expanding unswervingly, began rapidly to take shape organizationally. The French Communist Party was formed in December 1920, and the Unitary General Confederation of Labor (UCGT) was created in 1921-1922. The pivotal direction of the activity of the revolutionary current was struggle for the unity of the working class. For a long time, however, the calls for unity found no response among the leaders of the reformist organizations. Only with the onset of the Great Depression which hit the economy of countries of the capitalist world on the eve and at the outset of the 1930's and the sharp stimulation of the strike force of imperialism--fascism--connected with this did they find themselves faced with the need to reconsider their position.

The leaders of the SFIO were forced to consent to negotiations with the French CP. This ultimately led to the formation of a Popular Front, which assumed office as a result of the 1936 parliamentary elections. Important positive changes appeared in relations between the CGT and the UCGT also. The result of the dialogue between them which had been resumed was unification on an antimonopoly class platform, which was made official at the CGT Toulouse congress in March 1936, which was, as the authors show, of tremendous significance for the subsequent struggle for implementation of a number of important provisions of the social program of the Popular Front. And although the period of unity on a class basis proved short (the expulsion of the communists from the CGT by its right-reformist leaders on the basis of a decree of the E. Daladier government signified, of course, the actual splitting of the CGT), reaction was unable, nonetheless, to wipe out the revolutionary current in the French workers movement--and it was connected primarily with the activity of French communists. Driven underground, it continued to exist and develop. It played an outstanding part in the struggle for national liberation which the people of France conducted in the years of the Hitler occupation. The activity of the communists was also of tremendous significance for the restoration of the CGT itself (it had been dissolved in August 1940 by the Vichyites). The communists and their supporters succeeded not only in restoring a united CGT, in which they now played the leading part, but also making it the most populous trade union association of the country, making a unitary strategy of class struggle the basis of its activity.

This is the very essence of the CGT, which the years have not changed. At all stages of the evolution of the changeable socioeconomic and political situation in postwar France the CGT has rightly preserved, as the book shows in detail, its high reputation as a most consistent fighter for the interests of the working class and the leading force of its resistance to the antisocial projects of the ruling classes.

The assumption of office by the coalition of parties of the left in 1981 created practicable conditions for the implementation of profound transformations in the country. The CGT was once again in the very thick of

the struggle. The authors pay considerable attention to the singularities of the CGT's behavior in this period. They show that it saw as its main task assistance in every possible way to the implementation of the new government's progressive measures, while at the same time reserving the right to oppose its actions which, it believed, were contrary to the interests of the working people. The CGT adheres firmly to this line of conduct, orienting its activity at different stages of the evolution of the complex socioeconomic and political situation primarily toward struggle for the vital interests of the working people and the unification of their forces for effective opposition to the monopolies' increased pressure on the working class and its organization.

While paying tribute to the work performed by the authors, we would note that the scientific-practical interest which "problems of the CGT" represent would by no means seem to be exhausted with the publication of this monograph. And not only because the study performed by the authors does not remove certain "gaps" in the historiography of the CGT (the interwar period, for example). The main thing is that, despite the publication of a new work on the history of the CGT meriting attention, there is still a need for an extended study of the confederation's activity. This applies particularly to the current difficult, perhaps even critical, period, when under the conditions of the sharp stimulation of the offensive of conservative forces the working people have been forced to conduct a difficult, unequal struggle against the monopolies in defense of their vital interests. Yet this struggle is the CGT's very raison d'etre, the right to which it has truly earned through suffering in the decades of its illustrious history.

FOOTNOTE

* S.N. Pogodin, G.V. Pushkareva, "V borbe za interesy frantsuzskikh trudyashchikhsya" [In the Struggle for French Working People's Interests], Moscow, Profizdat, 1985, pp 175.

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